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## RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES IN THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF SPAIN IN AMERICA<sup>1</sup>

For a score of reasons the cultural life of Hispanic America remains relatively unknown and without synthesis. Scholars should no longer be deterred, however, by the allegation that the subject is sterile, for this charge may be answered in two ways—it is a mis-statement of fact, and, even if it were true, we need not condemn ourselves to writing exclusively in historical epochs which conform to our own intellectual and moral standards.

How often have we heard it uttered that a thousand-year structure of superstitious notions crumbled at a stroke with the discovery of America. Yet such a statement is based even today largely upon assumption, for it is plain that few serious examinations of the impact of America on Spanish thought in the golden century have been essayed and completed. Besides, we look to Galileo and Kepler, who flourished in countries relatively divorced from America, as symbols of intellectual and cultural progressivism.

It is Spain, however, which logically should have transmitted this shocking repercussion to the rest of Europe. The first generation trained in the full glare of the new light after the beginning of the American experiment were Spaniards,

<sup>1</sup> Read at the luncheon conference of the Hispanic American Group, at Chattanooga, December 27, 1935.

and they were one of the most spectacular groups of thinkers to arise in that whole epoch-making century. And was not a majority of them pondering the question of America? We cannot condemn Spain, understand the growth of international law, or answer this question without studying the thought of Francisco Vitoria, Francisco de Suárez, Gómez Pereira, Luis Vives, Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros, Luis Molina, and others.

While some slight attention has been paid to Vitoria's consideration of the intellectual connotations of the opening of America, Bartolomé de las Casas has been judged at his own evaluation for the most part, and the philosophical import of America and American relations stands essentially where a distinguished concourse of debaters like Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and Las Casas left it at the conclave of Valladolid in 1550. We must have monographic studies of more of these men, such as that proposed by Mr. Louis Hanke, and a synthetic appraisal of the culture of the century, before we can condemn the Spaniard of the era of conquest to the perdition of a Spanish world which Blanco Fombona so blithely described as devoid of the critical faculty. A specific history of political theory in *el siglo de oro*, with especial reference to America, has long been urgently needed.

As we cross the Ocean Sea from Spain, we return and relive the centuries when modern philosophy as painfully as inexorably replaced the authoritative system. The new world, instead of profiting by the intellectual stimulation which the opening of America brought to Europe, found itself preoccupied, isolated, and besieged by Thomistic orthodoxy and Spanish regalism eager to regain here what they had lost in Europe. And no philosophical fabric was so well adapted to maintain a system already conceived and formulated as was scholasticism. Because scholasticism held on into the eighteenth century, colonial intellectual life has been decried as decadent and any study of it as futile. Research must pull together these loose threads, for to understand Spain in America it is even more necessary to know new-world scholasticism and its history



than it is to know puritanism in order to understand New England. American scholasticism produced no St. Thomas Aquinas; but our purpose should be not to emphasize the brilliant so much as to survey the commonplace. Instead of repeating the important well-known, let us revive and interpret the forgotten ordinary. If Parrington had neglected the colonial mind, if Walsh had overlooked the English-American scholastics, if Schneider had left his *Puritan Mind* undone; if, in short, the colonial age of the English in America had been condemned to oblivion, we should have among us the same situation that obtains with reference to colonial Hispanic America. St. Thomas Aquinas, Peter Lombard, Duns Scotus, Juan de Mariana—first in pure, then in corrupt form—exerted a profound influence upon the Hispanic colonial mentality. Each religious order chose its own master from the scores of pulpits and university chairs. Modern Hispanic American intellectuals have variously characterized colonial philosophy by every phrase from “languid, soporific, and dogmatic”, to “subtle, sterile, and verbose”. If these colonial scholastics asked such questions as “How was the body of Christ placed at the right hand of the Father? Was it seated or standing up?” or “Where was God before the creation of the world?” they were no sluggards in logic where they polished words and sharpened meanings on the whetstones of each other’s brains. In inventing subtleties and making distinctions, they knew how to elude difficulties.

Barreda y Laos has given us a glimpse of the colonial mind, and a few Jesuit philosophical texts have been published, but the essence of colonial thought in the works of Antonio de Calancha and Juan Meléndez, in a host of chroniclers, in show-ers of broadsides, and in thousands of *legajos* of manuscripts, awaits enlightened analysis. There are probably 2,000 manuscript volumes among the records of *oposiciones*, debates, and examinations in twenty-one universities established in the colonial epoch.

Beyond the universities, in the thousands of panegyrics,

sermons, and stereotyped poems, we begin to see a glimmer of a mind strong in erudition, powerful in qualities of rote memory, but tragically illustrative of the results of an undernourished critical faculty. Typifying the victims of the rote-memory process were Antonio Calderón, who sold his books after reading them once because he was then able to recite the passages from memory, and Don Pedro Peralta Barnuevo who never left the city of Lima, yet was reported to write with elegance in eighteen languages. Exemplifying the worst results of decadent scholastic culture, boys with prodigious memories graduated from the universities and at thirteen or fourteen actually practiced law before the viceregal audiencias, thus lending a dignity to boyish memory that was not bestowed upon thoughtful maturity. It may be true, as García Calderón says, that, to the colonial, "An unexpected sound . . . [revealed] the presence of a soul in torment; a tremor of the earth, the divine wrath; sickness . . . a proof of diabolic influence; health, the efficacy of an amulet", but a history of Hispanic servilism and superstition, or the influence of utter deference to authority upon the course of American history, is absolutely essential to a dispassionate judgment of colonial culture and society.

The possibilities of research in philosophy, however, extend beyond mere static scholasticism. The intriguing history of the infiltration of René Descartes's system of methodical doubt and John Locke's sensationalism, forms a story, as yet unsurveyed and untold, which was nevertheless as significant in the western hemisphere, and should be as interesting to Americans, as that European cultural transition we call the Renaissance.

Half a dozen Americans among the standard-bearers of this philosophical revolution beckon to biographers. Rodríguez de Mendoza, the mentor of advanced Peruvian education, who substituted experiment and observation for authority and superstition, was seconded by a determined coterie of philosophical reformers in Lima, Chuquisaca, Bogotá, and



Caracas. A history of any one of a half dozen factions like that written by Dr. Carracciola Parra about the Venezuelans, or a biography of one of the men—Francisco Antonio Pimentel, José Antonio Montenegro, Baltasar Marrero—who in a few decades lifted a whole generation from paralyzing peripateticism to a dignified position of individualism and revolutionary doubt would establish the reputation of an American scholar. The philosophical variation of probabilism, bequeathed to the new world by the Jesuits, desperately assailed and excoriated by the intransigents long before and also long after the expulsion of the company, was too important in the American intellectual renaissance to continue unstudied.

The same forces shaped literature which hedged about philosophy. For that reason epics like Ercilla y Zúñiga's *La Araucana* have crowded out the representative pieces. Literary anthologies, which have stressed taste and talent before knowledge of the age, have delineated certain fields and left upon them the anathema of utter barrenness. With such a handling of material the social historian cannot be satisfied. The anthologist has culled what he wanted; now let the historian glean what he needs in order to understand, not judge, colonial society.

Although they might not compete in beauty of form with these unrepresentative pieces, the literary by-products of a servile period offer a far better key to the door of understanding. Approaching literature from any angle but originality and majesty of expression, the scholar will find a superabundance of material for study. A score of convent records as Antonio de Calancha's *Crónica moralizada* and Juan Meléndez's *Tesoros verdaderos de las Indias* would yield a vast range of information to be separated from the naïve credulity and divested of the spangles of the weary, traditional rhetoric of the convent.

Unfortunately, because of its inanities, panegyrical literature has been dismissed as the mechanism of a perpetual motion of bombast, but in it lies the genesis and the possibility

of a distinguished and fruitful study. There was no scholastic intellect who did not occasionally make the panegyric the vehicle of his thought. Pedro Peralta's *España vindicada* will probably reign as the best example of hundreds of such works pronounced by university professors upon the inauguration of viceroys, or written either to observe famous birthdays or to celebrate a canonization; and they become not alone notes to history but indices to the mind of an age. Although the complete lack of critical discrimination in such a prominent work as El Lunajero's *Apología en favor de Don Luis de Góngora* must be admitted, the volume is a valuable historical document, because it is a sample of a characteristic and striking mind.

A sort of poetical celebration, known as a *certamen*, was the fount of myriads of stereotyped panegyric stanzas, running the whole gamut of known poetical forms, and continuing unabated from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. In one of these celebrations over three hundred aspiring poets participated. So formalized did the panegyric certamen become that a printed cartel describing all subjects, specifying the meter of each poem, designating the prizes, and listing the judges became a routine part of each poetical joust. Bernardo de Balbuena, the famous author of *Grandeza Mexicana*, came to the light of day by this process.

Moreover, since the really historical, scientific, or philosophical works were consigned to an obscure drawer of the author's desk rather than exposed to the risk of the Inquisition and the censor's rejection, all works not strictly innocuous remained inedited. In Seville, Mexico City, Lima, Arequipa, Caracas, Bogotá, and Santiago many such manuscripts doubtless still repose. Especially promising are such depositories as the Biblioteca Nacional in Lima. A discovery of this kind, the very secular *Obras líricas* of Antonio de Solís, has just been made and added to the Velasco collection. Even among printed works, Medina's guides are not the last word, for Don Carlos A. Romero alone holds hundreds of Peruvian items



unknown to the prodigious bibliographer. What is demanded here is more work like that done by Dr. Irving A. Leonard in connection with his *Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora*. The outstanding intellectual representative of the whole colonial epoch, Don Pedro Peralta Barnuevo, has not yet attracted a biographer.

The wars of independence in literature present a vast unexploited field. Therein the process of supplanting perfunctory scholastic exercises is worthy of investigation. In this movement we observe a group of ribald Venezuelan students laughing the pomposity of the *vejamen* out of existence and resorting to a clandestine liberal form—the *hucusque*. The cultivation of literature in the *tertulias* of New Granada not only added freshness to letters, but produced a whole battalion of revolutionaries. It was by this approach that the patriarch and mentor of education, Manuel Socorro Rodríguez, and the South American Thomas Paine, Antonio Nariño, entered the stormy road of revolutionary philosophy. While Camilo Henríquez, Chilean literatus, was preaching revolution in Buenos Aires, a panegyric oration in Lima heralded the inauguration of Viceroy Guirior. Scores of conservative printed works—twenty-two from among the intellectuals of Mexico City alone—were the resounding answer to the stirring events of 1810. To this day, they constitute an invaluable unused source for the history of Mexican loyalism. The martial strains of José Joaquín Olmedo, the supreme poet of the revolution, the pathos and delicacy of the exiled José María Heredia, and the cultivated Tennyson-like perfection of Andrés Bello marked an improvement in form and spirit as well as in political ideas. Could not the literary or even the political historians probe here with results? And what a record of ideas, when properly approached, would be the archives of the Inquisition in Mexico, Lima, Cartagena, and Sevilla!

In the field of medical history nearly everything remains to be revealed in English. From the controverted subjects of

the pharmacopoeia, surgery, and the nature of disease among the Incas, to the establishment of the Peruvian Medical College of San Fernando in 1808, we have only cursory, superficial treatments with the possible exception of Mexico. In the history of the transition from medico-astrological texts and such drugs as crawfish eyes, tapir claws, livers of the pelican, gall-bladder, calcined frogs, spirit of earthworms, and lizard oil, to modern chemistry and pharmacy there is ample latitude for work. From the quacks and midwives to the learned, experimenting Dr. Hipólito Unánue; from the time that a disguised obstetrician was executed for practicing his art to the establishment of obstetrical hospitals; from the search for symptoms in the stars to their location in the patient, is also a long uncharted course. As late as the eighteenth century, the primary medical question about a two-headed child, even to the famous Dr. Peralta, was "Do such creatures have souls, and if so, one or two?" It was more important to know whether an infirmity began on a dog day than to know what the disease was. As late as 1785, patients' blood was taken alternately from the right and left arms to maintain the equilibrium of the patient.

How such puerility was defeated, and how Galen, Hippocrates, and Piquier were replaced by Andreas Vesalius, William Harvey, and their successors—these things some historian has the privilege of telling us. The material is at hand in hospital records and myriads of pseudo-scientific tracts—and even from the *Recopilación de Indias* we can learn that the Spaniards in the sixteenth century advanced the political aspects of the administration of public health to a point we are just reaching.

The Laws of Castile governing public health were extended to America, and in 1570 Philip II. created central offices of public health and boards of medical examiners which were augmented and retained until the end of the colonial epoch. Many a circular, proclaiming a new remedy for an old scourge, was distributed at government expense. In the reign



of Charles IV. a medical fleet dispatched by the government toured America, vaccinating from city to city and from arm to arm. The story of public health and medical culture in Mexico, Peru, Chile, New Granada, Venezuela, Cuba, and Santo Domingo, remains unexploited, although surveys related to the subject in Mexico and Peru have been written by Francisco A. Flores and Hipólito Valdizán. Modern medical schools existed in Mexico City, Lima, Santiago de Chile, and Caracas before the end of the colonial era. What Hispanist is there but would like to know how superstition against dissection was overcome, universal blood-letting rejected, and eventually more than a continent won for modern medicine?<sup>2</sup>

In the evolution of Hispanic American science the investigator is literally bedazzled by the research possibilities. Here, as in the case of philosophy, we have a renaissance, belated, but significant and truly American. Astrology, for example, which was based upon assumptions, could conform nicely to dogmatic theology and even share with it the distinction of making the heavens its sole subject of investigation. For that reason, this pseudo-science winged its way across American history and came to rest only late in the eighteenth century. José de Acosta, who lived after Copernicus, could not but have seen that science threatened to remove another stone from the foundations of orthodoxy. Hence the observer in him gave way when he sought his cosmological hypotheses in the scripture and based his conclusions upon infantile suppositions. This distinguished Jesuit deliberately explained that each planet moved on the back of an angel. The Mexican doctor of medicine, Juan Cárdenas, thought that if one took tobacco smoke after meals "even if he had eaten a whole sheep, he would feel no more sense of fulness in the stomach than if he had eaten nothing". Although as much victimized by the absence of experimental methods as Acosta, Cárdenas was

<sup>2</sup> See notices of the important bibliographical studies of Dr. Nathan Van Patten relative to medicine in Central America and Mexico in this REVIEW, XI. 555-556, and XII. 536-537.

ambitious and modern in the sense that he sought to explain natural phenomena by natural means, and dealt with earthquakes, the atmosphere, rains, humidity, mineral deposits, and the vegetable kingdom, and with anthropological questions such as the alleged short life-span of Americans, and unfortunately the "hot and humid" qualities, "light and delicate" humours, and "melancholy". The prolonged unscrambling of astrology and the mathematical sciences, running from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, when military engineers had to know modern mathematics or perish, produced the most distinguished intellects of the eighteenth century—from Sigüenza and Peralta to José Ignacio Bartolache, José Celestino Mutis, Francisco José Caldas, and half a hundred men living when the new world was visited a second time by widespread revolution. Early in the history of this array, Eusebio Llano Zapata broke completely with tradition and rested his conclusions squarely upon the observance of nature as he felt adjured to do by Nicolás Cusa, Pierre Gassendi, and René Descartes.

However involved it had been in the sacred muddle of astrological tradition, astronomy in the Spanish viceroyalties slowly emerged from its chrysalis. Behind the occult subject of astrology in Europe lay the irresistible lure that the heavens held for the American aborigines as attested in their aspiring pyramids and astronomical towers, and the encouragement which monopoly of perspective gave later Americans. From the first recordings of lunar eclipses by Antonio de Mendoza in 1542 until the erection of the first observatory in America at Bogotá by José Celestino Mutis, in 1803, the evolution of American astronomy, as an indication of the cultural transition, is worthy of study. In 1681, for example, a scientific battle was joined that exemplified the old and the new, when Don Carlos Sigüenza, royal cosmographer and professor of mathematics, in a publication on comets, espoused a natural physical explanation of celestial phenomena and sought to assure the quaking people that the comet of 1680 was not, as



the priests told them, a manifestation of divine wrath. The assailants of Sigüenza and the defenders of the superstitious view, were Europeans like Father Eusebio Kino and Martín de la Torre, who were fighting with an embattled American the fight of darkness against the light. A period marked by the Condamine equatorial expedition, the celebrated achievements of José Fausto Elhuyar and Andrés del Río, the establishment of such scientific periodicals as the *Diario de México* and the *Mercurio Volante* in Mexico, the *Papel Periódico* in New Granada, and the *Mercurio Peruano* in Peru, when combined with the production of such a work as Unánue's *Observaciones sobre el Clima de Lima*, must produce a decided respect for one generation of scientific progress.

In botany, as in the case of astronomy, America enjoyed a monopoly. When the Spanish sovereigns charged their *protomédicos* in 1580 to write natural histories of their districts, they fostered the botanical works of Francisco Hernández and began that public concern which culminated in the famous botanical expeditions of José Celestino Mutis in New Granada, Don Martín Sessé in Mexico, and Hipólito Ruiz in Peru—undertakings which cost the Spanish government nearly half a million pesos. Botanical gardens, chairs in natural history and chemistry, publications and scientific libraries, sprang up at widely separated points, and furnished ample evidence that the new mind had arrived. The data of the Mutis expeditions alone included 15 cases, 6,400 precise and colored plates illustrating 130 botanical families, and a herbarium of 20,000 plants. And all these papers remained a sleeping place for Spanish cats until a few years ago. In this significant story no material research had been done save in the lives of Mutis and Caldas. An abundance of such matter, so vital in the history of science, literally awaits discovery.

Although Spanish colonial political theory long remained laudatory and inept, if not actually non-existent, the formation of revolutionary mentalities and the acceptance of European and North American political theory constituted the

basic work of the revolution. Yet, wherever there was a college particularly conspicuous for the number of figures it contributed to the wars of independence, there is always the story of some patriarchal teacher in the background. The University of Chuquisaca, under the tutelage of Canon Tarrazas, educated nearly the whole phalanx of Argentine and Bolivian liberators. Rodríguez de Mendoza in the Convictorio de San Carlos and Hipólito Unánue in the Medical School of San Fernando in Lima; the scientist, José Celestino Mutis, and Socorro Rodríguez, as the venerable Dr. Johnson of New Granada; and Manuel Salas in Santiago, directed the education of a majority of the rest of the precursors and liberators. At these points, the acceptance of the new in science and philosophy told inevitably in political theory. The mathematics of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz, René Descartes, and Sir Isaac Newton meant as much to the unfettering of the mind and the advancement of the revolution as the writings of Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, John Locke, the Abbé Raynal, or Thomas Paine. Bernard Moses, Vicuña Mackenna, and Miguel Luis Amunátegui perceived this possibility for research, but lacked the time to grapple with it definitively.

Of the twenty-one universities, the cloisters of which included and dominated virtually all the intellectuals of Spanish America, we have acceptable histories of only two: San Felipe in Chile and Santa Rosa in Caracas. University history is a cross-section of colonial culture—from the pomposity of colonial ceremonies through philosophy, native languages, medicine, general science, cultural reforms, political theory, and modern ideology. From the portals of these institutions, which were given even rank with those in Europe, there emerged approximately 150,000 graduates before the end of the epoch. In the range of cultural subjects alone there appeared in Mexico during colonial times more than three hundred books and tracts, most of them related to the University of Mexico. An even greater number connected with the University of San Marcos appeared in Lima. With no history of



these two great model universities, the temptation to write a synthetic cross-section of Hispanic colonial culture in the form of a history of the universities is almost as engaging as the labor is enormous. For the most part the pertinent papers remain untouched to this day. Some of them from Seville on the relatively unimportant universities of Caracas, Santiago, and Oaxaca have been transcribed, but unnumbered *legajos* of useful papers on the other eighteen universities are still unedited and unread. Although in the vicissitudes of revolt and war, the invaluable papers of San Marcos and Chuquisaca have dropped from sight, surprisingly complete archives have survived elsewhere. The 578 manuscript volumes of the unexplored papers of the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico in the Archivo General de la Nación, hold forth enormous possibilities of adding to knowledge in a field which, despite the scratchy plowing of Vicente Quesada, Felipe Barrera y Laos, Fuenzalida Grandon, and José Ingenieros is still almost virgin soil.

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## VISITADOR RIVERA'S CRITICISMS OF AGUAYO'S WORK IN TEXAS<sup>1</sup>

Following the outbreak of war between France and Spain in January, 1719, hostilities between those powers extended to their North American possessions. The French in Louisiana assumed the offensive in May, 1719, with an attack upon the neighboring Spanish post of Pensacola. The next month Blondel, the French commandant at Natchitoches, led a small force westward some fifteen miles to the Spanish mission of San Miguel de los Adaes and "very courteously" informed the only two occupants who were at home that day—"a lay-brother and a naked and unarmed soldier"—that they were his prisoners.<sup>2</sup> The French commander even "seized the sacred ornaments and other vessels of the *quotidiano* service, and so excessively thorough was he that not even the chickens escaped capture".<sup>3</sup> In the attendant confusion, however, the lay brother made his escape, and by him news of the war in Europe and of the French invasion of Texas reached the other five Spanish missions and the presidio of Los Texas that were located between the Neches and Sabine rivers. A panic of fear seized the Spaniards and to save themselves from an imagined French attack, they finally retreated, without striking a blow, to San Antonio, where, the year before had been founded the mission of San Antonio de Valero and the presidio of San Antonio de Béxar—then Spain's only remaining establishments in Texas.

It was on this scene that the renowned second Marquis of

<sup>1</sup> Read at the session devoted to the history of Hispanic America, at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Chattanooga, in December, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> Fray Isidro Felix Espinosa, *Crónica . . . de todos los Colegios de Propaganda Fide de esta Nueva España* (Mexico, 1746), pp. 451-452; Fray Juan Domingo Arriçivita, *Crónica . . . del Colegio del Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro en la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1792), p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Arriçivita, *op. cit.*, p. 99.



San Miguel de Aguayo, a wealthy resident of Coahuila, appeared in the rôle of a restorer of Spanish dominion in Texas. The well-known story of the accomplishment of this aim need only be briefly summarized here. Having assumed the office of governor of the provinces of Coahuila and Texas in October, 1719, the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo recruited, partly at his personal expense, a force of more than five hundred men and with these and more than four thousand horses, and hundreds of mules, cattle, and sheep the marquis proceeded, in 1721, by way of San Antonio and the middle Brazos River to East Texas. En route, the expedition was joined by the East Texas refugees at San Antonio, where they had been since 1719, and where under the patronage of the marquis and the supervision of Father Margil the beautiful mission of San Joseph y San Miguel de Aguayo (present San José) was built. Arriving in East Texas, the presidio of Los Texas and the six abandoned Spanish missions were reëstablished and, in addition, a new presidio, with a complement of one hundred soldiers, was constructed at Los Adaes. On the return journey the marquis chose a new site for the presidio at San Antonio and drew plans for, and caused construction to be begun on it. Also at La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, at the site of La Salle's ill-fated Fort St. Louis, near Lavaca Bay—to which place the marquis had previously sent a force of forty men—the construction of a formidable presidio, with a complement of ninety men, was begun, and a mission was established. From there, after having spent in all, from his personal funds, more than 130,000 pesos in his constructive work in Texas, the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo returned to Coahuila in May, 1722, relinquished his governorship and retired to private life.

The constructive work of the marquis consisted not only in founding and rebuilding missions and military establishments; it included the beginnings of colonization schemes for Texas. Realizing how heavy the expense would be to the crown for the maintenance of such isolated missions and presidios, and also for the better development and progress

of the province, the marquis, two weeks after he had disbanded his forces in Coahuila, recommended to the king that two hundred families from Galicia, the Canary Islands, or Havana, and an equal number of families of loyal Tlascaltecan Indians be sent to Texas. These four hundred families he said might be distributed at La Bahía, San Antonio, and at each of the six East Texas missions. In addition, and because the 172 leagues from San Antonio to the mission of San Francisco de los Texas on the Neches were unsettled, he recommended that one pueblo of the proposed new settlers should be established halfway between the two above-named places, at either La Anguila, or Nuestra Señora de Buena Vista. "Without these families", he said,

it will be most difficult, if not impossible, for that province to be self-supporting. By so-doing your Majesty will have one of the best provinces in America from the standpoints of fertility and the delightfulness of the country. . . . It is suitable for the cultivation of all kinds of crops and for the raising of cattle.<sup>4</sup>

The story of the Aguayo expedition as outlined above and as narrated in detail in Eleanor Claire Buckley's article, "The Aguayo Expedition into Texas and Louisiana, 1719-1722",<sup>5</sup> which was published in 1911, is based largely upon the official diary of the expedition that was written by Fray Juan Antonio Peña,<sup>6</sup> the chaplain of the expedition, and published in Mexico City in 1722. Other contemporary sources of the Aguayo ex-

<sup>4</sup> Report to the king by the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo concerning the reoccupation of Texas. Coahuila, June 13, 1722, in archives of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, K, Legajo 4, N. 10, folio 1. Transcript in the University of Texas Library.

<sup>5</sup> Eleanor Claire Buckley, "The Aguayo Expedition into Texas and Louisiana, 1719-1722", in Texas State Historical Association, *The Quarterly*, XV. No. 1 (Austin, July, 1911), pp. 1-65.

<sup>6</sup> Fray Juan Antonio Peña, *Derrotero de la Expedición en la Provincia de los Texas... que del orden del Ex. mo Señor Marques de Valero Vi-Rey de esta Nueva España ha hecho D. Joseph Azlor* [the second . . . Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo] . . . (Mexico, 1722). An English translation of the diary by Rev. Peter P. Forrestal, entitled: "Peña's Diary of the Aguayo Expedition" is in *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, II. No. 7 (Austin, January, 1935).



pedition that have become available to investigators since the publication of Miss Buckley's article corroborate and supplement the Peña account. These sources, written between the years 1720 and 1724, consist of contemporary letters and reports sent by the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo to the king and to the viceroy of New Spain, letters and reports of the viceroy to the king, royal cédulas, opinions submitted by the royal fiscal of the Council of the Indies, and recommendations of the council to the king.<sup>7</sup> A criticism of these last-mentioned sources is that they doubtless are highly biased in favor of the marquis—although probably not more so than the diary which was written by the official chronicler of the expedition and which had the indorsement of the marquis before it was published.

The contemporary accounts of the Aguayo expedition referred to above were unchallenged for some years after they

<sup>7</sup> Among the above-mentioned sources, transcripts of which are in the Library of the University of Texas, may be mentioned the following:

(1) The Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo to the king. Coahuila, June 26, 1720, in Archivo General de Indias (hereinafter referred to as A. G. I.), Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-11.

(2) The Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo to the Marquis of Grimaldi. Coahuila, June 27, 1720, in A. G. I., Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-11.

(3) *Real Cédula*. The king to the viceroy of New Spain, the Marquis of Valero. Aranjuez, May 26, 1721, in Archivo General de Mexico (hereinafter referred to as A. G. M.), Sección de Historia, Vol. 321, ff. 69-70.

(4) The Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo to the viceroy. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, August 19, 1721, in A. G. I. Audiencia de Mexico, 61-2-2.

(5) The Marquis of Valero, viceroy of New Spain, to the king, Mexico, November 11, 1721, in A. G. I., Audiencia de Mexico, 61-2-2.

(6) Report to the king by the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo concerning the reoccupation of the province of Texas. Coahuila, June 13, 1722 (for location see note 4, *supra*).

(7) The Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo to the Marquis of Grimaldi. Coahuila, June 13, 1722, in A. G. I., Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-11.

(8) Undated memorial addressed by the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo to the king; it was forwarded by the Marquis of Grimaldi, the king's minister of state, to the Council of the Indies on April 17, 1723. It is in A. G. I., Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-4-38.

(9) Recommendation of the Council of the Indies to the king. Madrid, July 28, 1724, in A. G. I., Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-1-37.

were written and at the time were accepted without reserve by the viceregal and royal officials. As proof of this, the king of Spain in 1724, acting upon the recommendation of the Council of the Indies, and in recognition of his services, conferred upon the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo the rank of field marshal.

Nevertheless, a critic of the record made by the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo did not fail to appear before the death of the latter in 1734. In the year 1730 Don Pedro de Rivera, well-known royal inspector of the Texas settlements during the year 1728, submitted a critical report<sup>a</sup> [*informe*] concerning the alleged record of the marquis to the viceroy of New Spain at the time that consideration was being given to the proposal to send Canary Islanders to colonize Texas. The *informe* was very unfavorable as regards the achievements which the marquis claimed were to his credit. This may partly be accounted for by the fact that the marquis was a "plunger" who counted the cost only after the expenditure had been made, whereas Don Pedro de Rivera pursued a policy calling for the most drastic retrenchments with reference to Texas. A summary of some of the allegations made by Don Pedro de Rivera in this report which are at variance with the claims of the marquis follow:

Don Pedro de Rivera found no information to confirm the claim of the marquis that from 1712 to 1720 he had employed himself in defending the northern frontiers against hostile Indians. Instead, this duty fell, he said, to the presidios and, in the provinces without them, to the *alcaldes mayores* or their lieutenants together with the citizens whom they might organize in the settlements, without any private individual being obliged to use his arms against the enemies unless it was for the defense of his person, houses, and haciendas, as did all those who lived thereabouts. In case the marquis organized his forces to defend his haciendas and cattle from the

<sup>a</sup> *Ynforme* of Don Pedro de Rivera to the viceroy of New Spain. Mexico, January 16, 1730, in A. G. I., Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-4-38, folios 6-32.



Indians, credit should be given him, Rivera claimed, not for defending the frontiers, but for defending his private interests "which is exactly what the most humble vassal does even though he may endanger his life on numerous occasions". Rivera added:

That the said marquis has not aided any presidio is apparent from the expenses to the real hacienda; all of the presidios are self-sustaining and none of the inhabitants of the province in question can say one thing contrary to what I here expose.

Furthermore, none of the places near the hacienda where the marquis lived had received nor had they needed, Rivera charged, any aid from the marquis; instead "he lived eight years under the protection of those settlements" [of Parras and Saltillo].

As regards the claim of the marquis that he had pacified hostile Indian tribes in Coahuila just prior to the Texas campaign, Rivera said that at that time, 1730,

all the nations which were sustaining themselves by war when the marquis came from Spain are similarly disposed, as then, without any of them having made peace. . . . The marquis did not contribute to the pacification of rebellious nations in any manner.

Concerning the reported French attack on Texas in 1719, Rivera made the sensational statement that the province of Texas was not invaded by the French, as the marquis had stated. This was ascertained, Rivera claimed, from conversations with competent witnesses who had told him what actually happened, on the basis of what they had personally experienced. His summary follows:

Seven soldiers from the garrison of the French presidio, upon receiving news that war had broken out, left their quarters and coming to Los Adaes (which is distant only seven leagues) robbed the religious, who were there for the purpose of ministering at the missions . . . of everything they had. These soldiers with the booty which they obtained retired to their presidio without having displayed any force of arms. . . . This slight skirmish (which had no other basis

than that which fantasy created) was sufficient for the [Spanish] commander, who was at his presidio in Texas, to forfeit the right of possession which he had acquired to the province. He began to retreat with no other excuse than the news that the French had said in Los Adaes that their entrance was for other purposes than making a sally. And although the Spaniards should have done something, nevertheless the distance of more than seventy leagues required time for men to cross that distance on foot. Those soldiers at least should have maintained themselves without having made shameful abandonment, carried out on account of the want of experience of that official. . . .

Don Pedro also minimized the alleged achievement of the marquis in having pacified the Texas Indians after reaching their territory. "I do not know", he said sarcastically, "in what manner the said marquis was able to effect the pacification of the Indians of that province, if he found none of its nations bellicose". He added:

None of the nations of that vast country opposed him, for he entered as far as Los Adaes without any embarrassment. . . . And although those whom he met welcomed him (which is what they do to every one), in doing so they did not render obedience to the king, for they continued with the same indifference that they have always shown, as the father missionaries so state in the representations which only a short while ago they sent to your Excellency.

Rivera likewise scouted the report that, prior to the arrival of the marquis in East Texas, St. Denis, the French commandant at Natchitoches, had convoked the Texas Indians for the purpose of taking possession of the province as far as La Bahía del Espíritu Santo. "It was not certain", said Rivera, that such was contemplated,

for in case that Don Louis [St. Denis] had intended to do that which the marquis says, without it having been necessary for him to move from the place of his residence, he could have taken possession of all the territory lying between the Río del Norte and the Río de los Nachitoches [Red River], which is where he lives, without the marquis having been able to have entered the province on account of the



troops whom he conducted being incapable of resisting the force of the French troops, even though they had been fewer in number, as a comparison of the two bodies of troops would indicate.

With reference to the five hundred men with whom the marquis entered Texas, Rivera said that they were recruited from levies that were held for that purpose in Zacatecas, San Luis, Querétaro, and other cities. "And", said he, since they were not voluntary enlistments, other soldiers were placed with them who might guard them at the places through which they passed and conduct them to their destination. Yet, in spite of all such safeguards, some desertions occurred. In this manner they reached the province of Texas without their having been instructed in all that time in the management of firearms. That, aside from the [poor] character of most of them, would have been inexcusable even if their enlistments had been voluntary.

It was under these circumstances that the marquis, upon reaching East Texas, had an interview with St. Denis. But since St. Denis had no intention of taking possession of Texas, said Rivera,

it was unnecessary for the Spaniards to make any careful inspection and investigation in order for the marquis to enter the province. This he did without anything opposing him—a clear indication of his not having made any conquest.

Scouting the alleged constructive achievements of the marquis in Texas, Rivera said that

the presidio of twenty-five soldiers whom the marquis left at Los Texas was erected on the same site in 1715 [1716]. . . . Therefore, since the foundation of the mentioned presidio was made six [five] years before the marquis entered the above mentioned province it should not be taken into account in the report which he gives to your Majesty of what he did there.

Rivera admitted that the marquis had erected the new presidios of Los Adaes and La Bahía and had placed a garrison at each one, but he charged that at neither presidio had the marquis completed the fortifications. At the presidio

of Los Adaes, a stockade was erected, and yet, said Rivera, despite its bastions and intersecting ramparts "that presidio is without any [real] defense". The presidio of Los Texas, Rivera said, had never had any fortification other than

a few hovels constructed of logs, so widely separated that through any part of them the sky might be seen. Since the roofs of the hovels are of grass it would take no greater effort to subdue the presidio than that of tossing on to it a firebrand, thereby converting it to ashes in a short while. At the presidio of San Antonio the marquis did not construct any fortification. . . . Neither at the presidio of La Bahía did the marquis construct any fortification, because it did not have anything except a log stockade for defending itself from the Indians. And although the plans which he sent to the council were drawn, never was the construction according to them carried out. Neither was the marquis able to have done this in the short time that he was there. If in the said presidios the works were carried out as they are today they were done at the expense of the labor of the soldiers. For that reason they did not cost the marquis any money; instead they cost the king, through the salaries which he paid to those garrisons, who were at that time unable to occupy themselves in other expeditions for the royal service on account of all the nations who inhabited that province being at peace (although indifferently so).

Finally, with reference to the restoration of the six missions in the condition in which they were formerly, which the marquis claimed to be to his credit, that work consisted of nothing more, according to Rivera, than having reestablished the missionaries

in their old huts where they may remain with more decency than before. However, they do not [now] have any Indians to whom to administer, as is evident to your Excellency from the representations made by the said fathers. Therefore, having no parishioners to whom to teach the doctrine, they cannot be called missions, as the marquis denominates them.

With regard to the mission at La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, Rivera said that there was not a single neophyte there in 1730 and that there never had been any Indians there except vag-



abonds who were accustomed to come there because they were given something to eat. Furthermore, two of the religious who were there were for the purpose of administering to the soldiers of that presidio. With reference to the two missions at San Antonio, which were for the Payayas, Aguastayas, and Mesquites Indians, these had come down from the Lomería of the Apaches in 1718 while Don Martín de Alarcón was governor. The Indian reductions had been effected three years before the marquis made his entrance into the province.

Those Indians, being reduced and a mission erected, the marquis did nothing more than divide it into two missions, without any necessity for so doing, since their number did not exceed 300 souls of all ages and sexes. Only one mission was adequate for their needs in education and in the teaching of the Christian doctrine.

In conclusion Rivera said:

Such were the achievements that were attained on the expedition to the province of Texas, as all who are in it say. It was made at a cost to the real hacienda, according to the assertion of many, of more than 600,000 pesos.

Despite the attack that was made upon his record by Don Pedro de Rivera, the work done by the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo in Texas was highly constructive and enduring. When he entered Texas, there were in the province only two missions—San Antonio de Valero and San Joseph y San Miguel de Aguayo, the latter of which had been built by Father Margil under the patronage of the marquis. He left in Texas ten missions—six in East Texas which he had rebuilt; a third one in San Antonio, the short-lived mission of San Francisco Xavier de Najera; and the new one at La Bahía del Espíritu Santo. When he entered Texas there was only one presidio in the entire province—that of San Antonio de Béxar. He left in Texas four presidios—that of Los Texas, which he had rebuilt; the new one at Los Adaes, which he constructed; another new one at La Bahía, the construction of which he began; and the rebuilt one at San Antonio. He left in the

province 269 soldiers, as compared with the number of approximately fifty that were assigned to the presidio of San Antonio de Béxar at the time that he entered the province. In short, the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo so definitely and firmly fixed the hold of Spain on Texas that Spanish title to it was never again disputed by France or by the French in Louisiana.

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## OLD-AGE PENSIONS IN URUGUAY<sup>1</sup>

In the utopia which José Batlle y Ordoñez planned for Uruguayan labor there probably would have been no pensions for the indigent aged because such a class would not have existed. The transformation of the community was to be effected by state ownership and operation of industry, elimination of the "insidious influences" of foreign capital, limitation of the power and prestige of the church, universal education, orderly political life, careful protection of the interests of labor, and a strong nationalistic spirit underlying the whole program. Venturing on this road to utopia, at times hesitantly and at other times enthusiastically, Uruguay in a quarter of a century acquired a reputation as a laboratory for social experimentation. But the road was not smooth. It is difficult to develop a young country without foreign capital and capital has its own way of responding to harsh treatment. The management of industry may be easily entered upon but is capable of no end of grief. Higher education may be so lavished upon the population that the balance of the various elements in the community is at least temporarily disturbed. Order may be achieved in political life by the force of a dictatorship which is of questionable superiority to the preceding disorder. The church issue may be raised for political ends without any great basis in fact. A nationalistic policy may be ill-timed when a country's sole important industry depends on foreign markets. An advance to the blessing of a comprehensive labor code may be purchased at too high a price, for thorough regulation of the conditions of work is of little avail when there is no work; minimum wages mean little when employers are lacking; elaborate pension schemes falter in the

<sup>1</sup> This study is part of a larger investigation of state ownership and social legislation in Uruguay.



absence of funds to support them. The labor code must be viewed not as a detached body of regulations, the virtues of which are so obvious as to be undebatable; rather must it be studied in relation with industry—the effect on domestic enterprise and on the competitive position of national industries.

No serious evaluation of the Uruguayan experiment has yet been made. Certain characteristics are clear: an idealism, splendid though extravagant, which attempted the tremendous task of raising the standard of living of the lower classes not by a diminution of the wealth and income of the firmly entrenched landowning group (*i.e.*, not by redistribution) but by an increase in the total welfare of the community—an idealism that failed to understand that the mere enactment of progressive laws is an inadequate solution; economic impracticality which committed the nation to ventures impossibly expensive under existing conditions; political practicality in the reasoned solicitude for labor and the bureaucracy—highly important voting groups. In this article the writers examine the history of old-age pensions in Uruguay; the experience in this field illustrates in many ways the nature of the Uruguayan attack on modern economic and social problems.

On June 22, 1914, President Batlle sent to the legislature a bill providing for old age and invalidity insurance. In the message accompanying the bill Battle indicated that he realized that if properly organized the community should be able to answer "*no necesita*" but that under existing circumstances none could deny the existence of the problem and the desirability of caring for the needy aged and invalid and therefore differences of opinion could arise only on the method of financing and on qualification and other details.<sup>2</sup> He proposed compulsory contributory insurance: 20 centésimos per month from everyone in the age group 20 to 64 and 10 centésimos per month from those in the group 15 to 19 who were working; where the wages were under \$40 per month the employer was

<sup>2</sup> For the message and bill see *Diario de Sesiones de la H. Cámara de Representantes* (hereafter cited as *Diario de Sesiones*), Vol. 246, 1915-1916, pp. 168-172.

to pay the contribution without deduction from wages; in the case of wages over \$40 the whole contribution was to be made by the wage-earner.<sup>3</sup> The age qualification (65 and the totally incapacitated at any age) was a generous one compared with prevailing European requirements. Batlle looked for the pension measure to encourage immigration which had always been checked by the absence of government land, the political disturbances, and the competition of the Argentine; yet, to avoid a rush of old people from abroad he fixed a minimum requirement of fifteen years' residence. The minimum pension was set at \$72 annually but basing his estimates on the census of 1908 Batlle believed that as much as \$96 might be paid. The census had shown 468,694 persons in the age group 20 to 64 and 119,099 in the group 15 to 19 in the latter of which he estimated 30 per cent would contribute; there were 28,023 persons aged 65 and over and of these he estimated 10,000 were indigent and might qualify for pensions.

The measure was long delayed in passage. The world war came soon to upset economic conditions in the country; the cost of living had been rising steadily and there was hesitation, accordingly, about levying an additional burden on labor. The compulsory contribution from employees was the main issue. In June, 1915, the labor committee of the house of representatives reported favorably on most of the provisions of Batlle's bill; the committee was much impressed with the obligatory contribution which it felt would stimulate thrift and saving among laborers and it went a step further to propose that instead of having employers pay the whole tax in cases of wages under \$40, even the employee earning under \$30 should pay half the tax.<sup>4</sup> In the house debates the contribution was criticized as falling unequally on the poorer laborers; the organ of the socialist party proposed new taxes

<sup>3</sup> Wherever the dollar sign (\$) appears, it refers to the Uruguayan peso, equivalent to \$1.03 at the old parity.

<sup>4</sup> For the Committee's report, see *Diario de Sesiones*, Vol. 246, 1915-1916, pp. 172-174. At this time the state itself had 19,891 employees receiving less than \$30 monthly.

on landowners as a substitute; one representative was so rash as to suggest meeting expenses by a lowering of the military appropriation and salaries of legislators and other high government officials.<sup>5</sup> The house voted the obligatory contribution but when the bill came back from the senate many major changes had been made: the age qualification was lowered from 65 to 60; the minimum pension was raised from \$72 to \$96 annually; employees were freed from contribution and instead funds were provided by a tax on employers proportional to the number of their employees, a surtax on real estate, and various taxes on liquors, alcohol, and playing cards.

The law was finally passed in 1919 in substantially the form recommended by the senate. Meanwhile, laws had been enacted regulating the conditions of work and safeguarding labor against accidents. An eight-hour day act which had been rushed through the legislature partly to gain labor's support for a new type of political organization created considerable unrest as labor resisted the wage reductions which employers insisted must accompany the decrease in hours. The government in general supported labor in these clashes and in 1918-1919, when unrest was again marked, it sought to calm the situation by making concessions to labor; the old-age pension and the public utilities retirement pension laws were among the measures adopted.

By the law of February 11, 1919, the state recognized its responsibility to provide a minimum of subsistence for the indigent aged and totally incapacitated. The age qualification was 60; invalids could qualify at any age but the law carefully required total incapacity. The minimum pension was \$96 annually or its equivalent in direct or indirect aid. Foreigners or naturalized citizens must have resided in the country at least fifteen consecutive years and their pension was not to

<sup>5</sup> The house debates are in *Diario de Sesiones*, Vol. 246, pp. 177-188, 367-371, 409-420, 442-451, 465-486; Vol. 247, 1916, pp. 255-262; Vol. 248, 1916, pp. 199-230, 341-349, 368-382, 398-404; Vol. 268, 1919, pp. 391-412.



exceed the minimum allowed to nationals.<sup>6</sup> For the purpose of calculating the pension, annual income was used as the measure of means: a general exemption of \$10 annually was allowed and where income exceeded \$10 the pension was to be reduced by 50 centésimos per \$1 of net annual income (*i.e.*, less exemption); thus persons with net income exceeding \$192 could not qualify.<sup>7</sup> The resources provided were: a social insurance tax of 20 centésimos per month (collected by means of stamps each of value of one month's payment) to be paid by every employer for each employee in his service; a surtax to be paid by owners of real estate of value exceeding \$200,000, the rates ranging from \$1.05 per \$1,000 on value from \$200,000 to \$300,000 to \$1.30 on values over \$700,000;<sup>8</sup> a tax of 20 centésimos per pack of imported playing cards and 10 centésimos per pack of domestic cards; 60 centésimos per litre internal revenue tax on imported and domestic alcohol not intended for denaturing; increases in the internal revenue tax on imported liquors and brandies. The state insurance bank was charged with general administration of the pension plan.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The Uruguayan legislature tended to devote inadequate attention to the practical details of laws and in this case the supplementary law of September 1, 1919, was needed to correct certain practical difficulties. Many of the aged found it difficult to locate the necessary documents (consular certificates, birth certificates, etc.); the law of September 1 provided that residence could be proven by testimony of reliable witnesses at hearings before the *juzgados de paz* (magistrate courts) in the department of Montevideo and before the *juzgados letrados* (regular courts) in other departments.

<sup>7</sup> The basic law established no character test but the law of September 1, 1919, provided that pensions could be suspended if the persons were proven mendicants or inebriates. It was also provided that foreigners unable to work coming to Uruguay after the promulgation of the law of February 11, 1919, could not qualify.

<sup>8</sup> This tax burdened unintentionally joint holders of property valued at \$200,000 and over. This defect was remedied in the law of July 5, 1921, whereby in cases of property held in joint tenancy only the share of each joint holder was to be considered except in cases of conjugal partnerships or associations where the part of individual members is not specified. Penalties for delinquency in payment of taxes were regulated by the decree of September 15, 1919, and the law of July 5, 1921.

<sup>9</sup> By the regulatory decree of February 26, 1919, supervision of law enforcement as regards employers was entrusted to inspectors of the national labor office,

Article 5 provided that a part of the revenue be set aside as reserve against variations in income and for use in building old folks' homes. Since revenues had been designed for the full working of the pension system, large reserves were accumulated while the system was getting under way. In 1919, the surplus was \$750,000, in 1920, \$813,000, in 1921, \$285,000. By 1922, the number of pensions had grown to 18,160 from 2,076 in 1919, 9,405 in 1920, and 15,575 in 1921, and revenues were inadequate; the reserve fell from \$1,847,000 in 1921 to \$1,561,000 in 1922.<sup>10</sup> The provision of resources exceeding the needs of the early years was a mistake for it led to carelessness in the granting of pensions and extravagance in administration and opened the way for politically-inspired moves to increase the rate of pensions.<sup>11</sup> Politicians invariably consider the need of providing for future fluctuations in income less important than the immediate gains to be derived from a distribution of surplus revenue. In this case, however, the reserves faded away before they could be legislated out of existence. In July, 1923, the state insurance bank informed the government that reserves were being drawn on heavily and that unless additional funds were provided the system would soon collapse. The matter was discussed in the legislature and a bill was reported by the finance committee of the house on October 17, 1923, but no action on it was taken. The deficit was \$468,000, in 1923, \$448,000, in 1924, and by July, 1925, the remaining reserve (\$646,000) had been exhausted and an emergency measure had to be enacted authorizing the drawing on general revenue for funds to complete the sum needed for pensions in July.<sup>12</sup> By the law of August 13, 1925, the system was reorganized.

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the direct tax administration was charged with the stamp arrangements, and the state insurance bank with general administration.

<sup>10</sup> All numbers are rounded off to the nearest thousand pesos. Figures cited are for December 31.

<sup>11</sup> *Diario de Sesiones*, Vol. 306, 1923, pp. 3-4.

<sup>12</sup> Law of July 17, 1925. In 1924, the surtax on real estate had been extended to values of \$50,000 and over (previously had started at \$200,000) and also to mortgages on property exceeding \$50,000.

The causes of the collapse of the system were many: laxity in the granting of pensions, practical difficulties in the collection of certain taxes, expensive administration, and the unusually low age qualification.<sup>13</sup> It was known that many pensioners were not in need or had families to support them and that foreigners were finding it easy to evade the fifteen years' residence rule because of the inadequacy of the proofs required.<sup>14</sup> In 1924, the administration sought to lessen the strain on resources by exercising greater care in the granting of pensions and by revision of the pension rolls; the need of this action was demonstrated by the sharp drop in the rate of increase in number of pensioners and the rise of the death rate to 12 per cent in 1924 compared with a previous average of 5½ per cent and a tendency to decline. In the legislative debates in 1925 the president of the insurance bank was quoted as saying that the number of suspected undeserving pensioners had been reduced to less than 400 of whom many were borderline cases.<sup>15</sup> There were then about 23,000 persons on the pension rolls. Administrative costs were admitted by the bank and by the finance committee to be high but it was found very difficult to reduce the budgets once inflated.<sup>16</sup> The social insurance tax proved impossible of enforcement in the rural districts. There was only one labor office inspector for each department except Salto which had two, allowances for traveling expenses were small, the roads were poor and many areas inaccessible in winter. It was estimated that there were 40,000

<sup>13</sup> The report of the finance committee (*Diario de Sesiones*, Vol. 322, 1925, pp. 514-530) furnishes an excellent summary of the situation.

<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, some claimed that the residence requirement was too severe—that a naturalized citizen might with five years' residence become a representative, with seven years' senator, and with fifteen years' a member of the consejo nacional and yet to become eligible for a modest pension he must prove fifteen years' residence. The law of August 13, 1925, required, in addition to testimony by reliable witnesses, the presentation of some public or private document testifying to the period of residence.

<sup>15</sup> *Diario de Sesiones*, Vol. 324, 1925, p. 379.

<sup>16</sup> Administration costs amounting to 9 per cent of total pensions paid were criticized in the debates, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to limit the bank to a 6 per cent maximum. (*Diario de Sesiones*, Vol. 322, p. 584.)



employees on rural establishments but the tax yield was only \$14,000; at \$2.40 each the yield should have been \$96,000.<sup>17</sup> To remedy this defect the legislators decided to reach the rural establishments by a tax proportioned to the area of the farms; it was estimated that the normal staff would consist of one employee per 500 hectares. Domestic servants had been exempted from the tax and it was now decided to include their employers by a tax on tenants in the urban centers of the Department of Montevideo who paid over \$50 monthly rent.

There can be no doubt that the generosity of the age qualification was a great strain on the system. The age distribution of the 27,633 beneficiaries up to December 31, 1924 (Table II) shows 8,827 in the age group 60-64; if the age limit had been set at the more usual figure of 65 the resources provided in the initial act might have been sufficient. The invalidity clause was also open to criticism: it is customary to fix such an age as 16 as the starting point; the Uruguayan plan enrolled the incapacitated at any age; in the period up to December 31, 1924, 159 pensioners were below the age of 15 and 183 aged 15 to 20.

The amazing feature of the debates on the new law was the strong pressure exerted to raise the rate of pensions in spite of the already enormous deficits. Notwithstanding the fact that there were already deficits in the school and military and old-age pension funds for which new resources had to be provided, a veritable pension mania swept the country. The conservative *Montevideo Times* complained that

at this rate, in the course of a few years, half the population or more will be on the pension list. As matters are going at present, anyone who has worked for a certain number of years thereby will become accredited with a pension which may be claimed by his ancestors, or his descendants, or his relatives to the third or fourth degree, or even his illegitimate children, for an indefinite period.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The total number of employees whose employers were subject to the tax was estimated at 160,000 of which 40,000 were credited to rural establishments. The annual yield of the social insurance tax in the years 1919-1924 was respectively \$161,000, \$231,000, \$271,000, \$242,000, \$252,000, \$262,000.

<sup>18</sup> August 10, 1924.

The issue was political. The Batllista party, which claimed credit for most of the labor measures already enacted, now as always, catered to the labor vote, insisted that \$96 was too little to live on, and demanded that the minimum be raised to \$120. The Batllista-dominated house approved such a provision. The only available index indicates that there had been a slight decrease in the cost of living since the original measure was passed.<sup>19</sup> The senate was controlled by the conservative nationalist party which, as its leaders put it, "numbered among its members the men who paid the bills for Batllista extravagance". The senate rejected the rate increase as ill-suited to the situation and the new law retained the \$96 minimum but with the new resources provided the bank consented to pay at the rate of \$108 to nationals and \$96 to foreigners. This episode demonstrated some of the defects of non-contributory pension plans: the danger that the legislature may lean toward class legislation, approving higher pensions and higher taxes rather than stressing economies in payments and in administration; and the fact that the system lends itself to undesirable political maneuvers designed to attract the votes of the masses.

The principal changes effected by the law of August 13, 1925, related to the financing of the pensions. The social insurance tax was modified to reach rural employers on an area-of-farm basis; tenants in Montevideo were taxed 20 centésimos monthly per \$50 rent paid, with exemption for those paying less than \$50 monthly rent. Taxes on alcohol, liquors, wine, etc., were raised. The real estate surtax was modified to range from \$0.60 per \$1,000 on values of \$50,000-\$100,000 to \$2.50 on values over \$800,000. A special import duty of 5 per cent was levied on automobiles. To the residence proof requirements was added the presentation of some public or private document attesting to fifteen years' residence. A practical defect in the

<sup>19</sup> The cost of living index of the ministerio de industrias for 1919, 1921, 1923, and 1925 was respectively 128, 139, 125, and 124. See Ministerio de Industrias, *El Salario Real (1914-1926)*, Montevideo, 1927.

law relating to court action to establish claims to pensions was remedied.<sup>20</sup>

When the law was passed it was believed that a stationary point where the annual deaths would balance the pensioners added was being rapidly approached. The number of pensioners continued to grow, however. Again, in 1928, the belief was common that the maximum figure was in sight but changes in economic conditions soon banished the thought. From 1929 on there was a great increase in the number of applications and pensions granted. Unemployment and economic distress threw onto the lists even those who had hitherto preferred working a little to going to the state for help; by 1932, there were about 36,000 pensioners compared with 28,000 in 1928. There had been a surplus of revenue in 1926-1929 in spite of the increase in allowances for nationals from \$96 to \$108 and, finally, to \$120, while foreigners were being continued at the \$96 minimum. In 1930, reserves were tapped to make up a deficit and just when the need became greatest resources began to fail. Frequently, in 1931, the insurance bank warned the government that the system would once more collapse unless new taxes were provided. The direct taxes (surtax on real estate, social insurance tax, tax on tenants) held up well, with a yield of \$1,242,000 in 1932 and \$1,276,000 in 1931, but the taxes on alcohol, liquors, sugars, and automobiles sagged badly. Total revenue decreased from \$3,215,000, in 1931, to \$2,373,000, in 1932. Naturally, in a critical economic situation, the duty on automobiles became useless; its yield was \$55,000 in the first half of 1931 and \$2,900 in the

<sup>20</sup> Article 5 of the law of September 1, 1919, provided that when five members of the directorate of the insurance bank believed that a petitioner had a right to support, in accord with the Civil Code, a pension could be granted provisionally following which the petitioner was to begin action, aided by the *defensor de oficio de turno*, to make the pension permanent. The law overlooked the fact that these officials were available only in Montevideo and thus the petitioner in the interior had no one to handle his case free of charge. Article 16 of the law of August 13, 1925, therefore, provided that action should be undertaken for the petitioners by the *defensor de oficio de turno* in Montevideo and by *agentes fiscales* in the other departments.



first half of 1932. Imports and consumption of the other taxed commodities fell and the situation was aggravated by the creation of the state monopoly *Administración Nacional de Combustibles, Alcohol y Portland* (popularly known as *ANCAP*). Taxes on alcohol and sugar had yielded about half the total revenue; with the formation of the monopoly, stocks were liquidated, the normal course of imports was checked, and tax revenues were reduced.

Meanwhile, the outgo was rising from \$3,768,000 in 1931 to \$4,250,000 in 1932. By January, 1932, the deficit had reached \$830,000; with the payment of the pensions for March, the bank announced that it could not continue payments. In April, the Consejo Nacional decided to recommend a tax on oil but as it was about to send the project to the legislature the oil companies anticipated the tax by raising prices and thus brought their unpleasant relations with the government to a point where drastic measures had to be invoked.<sup>21</sup> The legislature thereafter debated the whole pension problem at length and with disheartening lack of success. The pension structure had been gradually broadened until, in 1928, all corporations were brought under the retirement pension scheme in spite of the vigorous protests of business men. Now the structure at all points begged for support. Schemes for the reinforcement of the old-age pension plan were varied but none could gain the required support; each political faction had certain groups that it wished to protect from taxation and certain classes which it was willing to penalize. The Batllista element recommended taxes on oil and beer and malt and a progressive tax on real estate. The Herrerista group opposed burdening the landowners further and sought among other things to confiscate 50 per cent of the sums destined for profit sharing among employees of state enterprises and to reach the bureaucracy in other ways. The communists insisted on dipping

<sup>21</sup> The finance minister reviewed the 1932-1933 situation for the house of representatives on February 3, 1933, and criticized its lack of accomplishment. (*Diario de Sesiones*, Vol. 381, 1932-1933, p. 415.)

into the great reserves of the insurance bank and on heavy taxation of landowners and corporations. While the question was being debated, the year ended and the profits of the state enterprises were distributed and thus removed from the grasp of the legislature.

About all that the legislature accomplished was to authorize the withdrawal of \$300,000 from certain judicial deposits during the third quarter of 1932. The debates, however, brought out a variety of information on the operation of the system. Legislators denounced the abuses that had been allowed to creep into the system: men were offering to work for less if they were aided in obtaining pensions;<sup>22</sup> many received pensions though they were not in need—the case was cited of a man who boasted that this state aid paid for music lessons for his niece.<sup>23</sup> Others grieved that the administration was too severe and applications were being too closely scrutinized and too long delayed in acceptance;<sup>24</sup> this was especially true after the threat of a breakdown had been recognized. Some complained that inspectors were functioning more as electoral agents than as pension officers. The bank had inadequate means of defense against abuses because the public attorneys were already overburdened with work. The bank admitted that *gastos de gestión* had increased from 2.67 per cent in 1928 to about 4 per cent in 1930 and 3.17 per cent in 1931, but attributed it partly to a reorganization aimed at greater efficiency ultimately;<sup>25</sup> even so, the old-age pension service was much more economically administered than the public services retirement pension system.<sup>26</sup>

The Consejo Nacional fortunately succeeded in obtaining from the caja autónomo \$5,000,000 of which \$1,000,000 was assigned to the old-age pension fund; this eased the situation in the autumn of 1932.<sup>27</sup> Allowances were distributed cau-

<sup>22</sup> *Diario de Sesiones de la H. Cámara de Senadores*, Vol. 1 55, 1932, p. 273.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 281.

<sup>24</sup> *Diario de Sesiones*, Vol. 372, 1931, p. 336.

<sup>25</sup> *Diario de Sesiones*, Vol. 380, 1932, p. 71.   <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>27</sup> A communist representative claimed that a month's pension was paid im-

tiously but continued to be in arrears. By February, 1933, the deficit was \$1,900,000, pensions were five months in arrears, and no solution was in sight. The coup d'état of March 31, 1933, changed the form of government; finances were in poor shape and no small part of the difficulty lay in the pension deficits; of the total indebtedness of \$47,582,933, which the executive stated was facing the country, \$10,000,000 consisted of the arrears of payment in the public-services pension fund and \$3,000,000 in the old-age pension fund.

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In view of the widespread adoption of compulsory contributory insurance for old-age pensions, the question might be raised as to whether the Uruguayan experience demonstrates the inferiority of the non-contributory pension plan. The answer is, the writers believe, "No". The Uruguayan system was handicapped by the low age qualification—characteristically idealistic, impractical financially, and useful politically. The nature of the revenues assigned was a further difficulty: a large proportion of the funds were derived from indirect taxes whose yield fluctuated widely and inversely to the need. Thus, when economic conditions were good and the pressure for pensions less strong, revenues were large; when business was depressed the demand for pensions was greater and income fell off; the result was that the system swung from sizable surpluses to heavy deficits. In the presence of a surplus the inevitable reaction was to make less rigorous examinations of the applications, to subject the insurance bank to political pressure to raise allowances, and to ease the pressure for economy in administration. But if administration costs were high, it must be remembered that the complexities of administration of compulsory contributory plans are even greater and inefficiency of administration would be even more costly under such a scheme. And it should also be remembered that, wherever compulsory insurance has

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mediately before the elections and payments were suspended again after the election. (*Diario de Sesiones*, Vol. 381, 1932-1933, p. 11.)



been adopted, the state has borne the expenses of administration and has made direct subsidies to the insured. Thus, resort to taxation is not eliminated under that system and much of the political maneuvering to decide who shall pay the bills is still present. In the period of unemployment and depression which saw the non-contributory system break down, a compulsory insurance plan, based as it is on regular employment, would also have encountered trouble.

With so large a proportion of the population employed on rural establishments and irregularly employed, it would be very difficult to collect contributions from employees. The experience has been that men attaining the age for pensions have much less difficulty in finding the pension authorities than the insurance collectors did in reaching them when they were of insurance-paying age. It is doubtful if the non-contributory system had any damaging effect on the thrift habit among laborers. In 1908, there were 40,888 persons 60 years old and over; assuming no change in the age distribution, using the official estimates of population based on the census of 1908, and taking an early year before the theoretically injurious effect on thrift could have taken place, we find that 35 per cent of the men over 60 qualified for pensions in 1923 and an even larger proportion of the men over 65. Evidently there was no considerable thrift habit to be injured or else the wage level must have been such as to make saving impossible. It is more probable that, guaranteed subsistence, men may have been induced to save by the opportunity to make their last years more enjoyable. The rush during the depression to avail themselves of their right to a pension seems to indicate that because of its resemblance to charity many preferred to work or live on their savings while it was possible; the greater resemblance to charity is frequently cited as a disadvantage of the non-contributory plan. As to the theoretical damaging effect on wages, though there were a few cases where men were known to have offered to work for less because of their pension, the small number able to work at

such advanced ages could hardly affect the general wage level. Immigration was not much influenced by the existence of a pension system; 80 per cent of the foreigners who applied had resided over twenty-five years in Uruguay.

The problem of old age pensions reduces to this: granted that provision must be made for a minimum of subsistence for the aged, funds must be obtained. All, including the workers themselves, are unwilling to contribute and prefer to have someone else pay the bills. If the worker is saddled with the cost he may protest against "class legislation"; the lowest-paid workers, needing the protection most, will be least able to pay for it. If a non-contributory system is adopted the cry of "class legislation" is sure to be raised. The Uruguayan solution was not sound: the state must assume its responsibility. Labor is poorly paid and cannot afford to contribute; besides, it is an extremely potent class at the polls. At the other extremity is the landowning class, to whose interests a powerful political group is devoted, and which all except the communists and socialists try not to antagonize. The allowance rate is moderate and politically it is good policy to maintain and to raise the rate. Import duties and excise taxes are not dependable and their rates are limited by the effect of high rates on yields and on the cost of living. The class best able to pay will not pay; the class benefiting from the system can not pay; politically it is undesirable to make either class pay.

The following tables, illustrative of various phases of old-age pensions in Uruguay, will be found useful.

I

TAX REVENUES FOR OLD-AGE PENSIONS, 1919, TO DECEMBER 31, 1922<sup>28</sup>  
(*In thousands of pesos*)

Surtax on real estate.....	\$1327
Taxes on alcohol, liquors, etc.....	2634
Tax on playing cards.....	114
Social insurance tax.....	906
Total.....	\$4981

<sup>28</sup> See *Diario de Sesiones*, Vol. 306, 1923, p. 4.

## II

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PENSIONERS 1919-1924<sup>29</sup>

Age group	Number	Age group	Number
1 to 10	75	64	1758
11 to 14	84	65	1715
15 to 20	183	66 to 70	6083
21 to 30	331	71 to 75	3241
31 to 40	324	76 to 80	2749
41 to 50	536	81 to 85	1713
51 to 59	894	86 to 90	652
60	1995	91 to 95	130
61	1666	96 to 100	72
62	1702	Over 100	25
63	1706	Unknown	129

## III

THE OLD AGE PENSION SYSTEM IN OPERATION 1919-1930<sup>30</sup>

(In thousands of pesos)

Year	Number of Pensions			Income			Outgo			Surplus
	Granted	Discontinued	In Force	Taxes	Other	Total	Pensions	Other	Total	
1919	..2103	27	2076	908	3	911	40	121	162	750
1920	..7650	321	9405	1347	53	1400	421	166	587	813
1921	..6946	776	15575	1371	96	1467	983	199	1182	285
1922	..3599	1014	18160	1293	92	1386	1469	203	1672	-286
1923	..4568	746	21982	1480	94	1573	1835	206	2041	-468
1924	..2767	2605	22144	1734	42	1776	2026	198	2224	-448
1925	..2613	1704	23053	2250	695	2945	2145	208	2353	592
1926	..3131	1513	24671	2912	47	2958	2190	229	2419	539
1927	..3389	1823	26237	3006	61	3067	2476	237	2713	354
1928	..3674	1844	28067	3268	88	3556	2672	241	2913	643
1929	..4834	2121	30780	3372	112	3483	2824	290	3114	369
1930	..5478	2430	33828	3248	106	3355	3368	375	3743	-388

<sup>29</sup> "Report of Finance Committee", in *Diario de Sesiones*, Vol. 322, 1925, p. 514.

<sup>30</sup> *Anuario Estadístico de la República Oriental del Uruguay*, Años 1919-1930, Montevideo, 1921-1932.



IV

APPLICATIONS FOR PENSIONS, 1919-1930<sup>31</sup>

*Number of applications:*

Uruguayans.. .. .	48,163
Foreigners .. .	17,330
Total .. .	65,493
Conceded .. .	50,730
Denied .. .	8,402
Incomplete applications .. .	1,974
Withdrawn for various reasons .. .	2,659
Action pending .. .	1,728

*Age distribution of applications:*

Invalidity

Less than 21 .. .	1,294
21-30 .. .	1,086
31-40 .. .	1,268
41-50 .. .	2,363
51-60 .. .	13,591

Old Age

61-70 .. .	32,706
71-80 .. .	10,454
81-90 .. .	2,156
91-100 .. .	286
Over 100 .. .	41
Unknown .. .	248

*Years of residence of foreigners applying:*

15-20 .. .	2,156
21-25 .. .	1,411
26-30 .. .	1,722
31-35 .. .	1,731
36-40 .. .	2,397
41-45 .. .	1,727
46-50 .. .	2,140
51-55 .. .	1,578
56-60 .. .	1,316
Over 60 .. .	1,152

E. G. COLLADO.

Washington, D. C.

S. G. HANSON.

<sup>31</sup> *Anuario Estadístico de la República Oriental del Uruguay, Año 1930, Montevideo, 1932.*

## A UNITED STATES TOUR BY SARMIENTO IN 1847

Whether or not the United States is peculiarly sensitive to analysis, the writing of works of criticism of the country has opened up a most profitable market to foreign *literati*. Ever since the time of Dickens, they have come in apparently endless succession. The resultant works of such men are usually uncomplimentary to the country of their visit; their pecuniary success is *de scandale*. A notable exception to the general rule is presented by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, even though he was one of the forerunners of this invading legion who have taken their pleasure in revealing North America to its citizens.

By 1845, Sarmiento had become one of the noted educational leaders of Chile. Since the year 1831, when he had first gone to Chile in search of refuge from the chaos of the Argentine, he had been a teacher in the elementary schools, the author of text books, a journalist, a professor in the university, the founder of the first normal school in South America. With literary reputation obtained through the publication of his *Facundo* and a social position achieved through the friendship of such a man as Manuel Montt, it was eminently fitting that he should be the one appointed by the government to study the educational systems abroad with a view to their adaptation to that of Chile.<sup>1</sup> Three years were spent in the task—from 1845 to 1848; it was in 1847 that Sarmiento reached the United States.

<sup>1</sup> Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Obras completas*. Santiago de Chile-Buenos Aires, 1887-1903. This collection of the work of Sarmiento was published under the auspices of the Argentine government and edited by Augusto Belín Sarmiento, the grandson of the author. In 1849, after his return to Chile, Sarmiento published two books incident to his travels as educational explorer. The first, from which are taken the references of this paper, was entitled *Viajes por Europa, Africa y América*. It is the fifth volume of the official edition. The other, *De la educación popular*, is included in volume eleven.

Toward the end of July of that year Sarmiento embarked for New York, even though, after his studies in North Africa and Europe, there remained only a bare six hundred dollars of the money allotted to him by the Chilean government for the expense of his journeys. His plan was to travel in the United States as long as it should be financially possible, to reach Havana and the end of his funds simultaneously, and, once in a Spanish-speaking land, to earn enough money by teaching and journalism so that he might continue on to Venezuela, cross the continent to Bogotá, and then proceed to Chile by way of Guayaquil.

From the beginning, fortune favored him, and after reading Sarmiento's account of his journey, one can understand that enthusiastic admiration for the United States which underlay the rest of his life. He first went on a pilgrimage to Boston, because it was the home of his idolized Horace Mann, and a place, moreover, alive with memories of his "patron saint", Benjamin Franklin. Typically, Sarmiento made the journey from New York to Boston by detouring to Buffalo.

Having met a señor don Santiago Arcos who agreed to pay all future bills in return for South American companionship, Sarmiento's initial plan of travel was changed. It was decided that after the Boston trip Sarmiento was to go to Washington by way of Philadelphia and Baltimore; he would then return to Harrisburg where he was to meet Señor Arcos in the United States Hotel. They would journey together to Pittsburgh and down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans.

Previous experience had taught Sarmiento that every city in the United States had a United States Hotel. Unfortunately, Harrisburg proved to be an exception. While the ensuing situation was embarrassing to Sarmiento, it makes interesting reading today. He tells how he was unable to obtain any information about the young Spaniard for whom he was asking in an English which caused the poor Yankees to



shiver to their very fibers. He was in the heart of the United States, without a cent, making himself understood only with the greatest difficulty, and surrounded on every side by those impassively cold North American faces! Believing that the great passions of the soul can be expressed only in one's native idiom, he vented his "howl of rage" in the Spanish which he considered peculiarly appropriate for such a purpose through its rotundity and sonorousness.

Yankees are not accustomed to the manifestations of southern passions, and the hotel proprietor looked at me in dismay as he heard me cursing with profound excitement in my unknown tongue. Signaling to me to stop a moment before biting them all or committing suicide, he went running to the street, undoubtedly in search of some constable who should take me into custody. Minutes later, he again entered accompanied by an individual with a pen behind his ear, and who coldly inquired, first in English, then in French, and later with an occasional word in Spanish, for the cause of the excitement of which the innkeeper had informed him. The fellow listened to me without the movement of a single muscle of his impassive physiognomy, and when I had finished speaking, he said to me in French: "The only thing I can do is to pay your hotel bill and your expenses as far as Pittsburgh, provided that, when you reach that city, you pay in the Merchant's Manufactory Bank . . . the amount you believe you need advanced here."<sup>2</sup>

Sarmiento said that he could give no guarantee that the money would be returned, but the answer was, "It is not necessary; people in your situation never deceive". Sarmiento waited to see if Arcos would arrive. Arcos did not, but his "guardian angel" did. He came laden with books. For his guest's entertainment he had brought one volume of Quevedo, another of Tasso in Italian, and one or two in French. Returning the following day, he gave Sarmiento four five dollar bills, despite his efforts to return one of them as unnecessary. Arcos was finally discovered in Pittsburgh, and the balance of the journey was comparatively uneventful, although on the way to New

<sup>2</sup> *Obras Completas*, V. 499, 500.

Orleans Sarmiento did become acquainted with a woman who offered to lend him any further necessary money. She also offered the use of her home near New Orleans.

During his journeys down the eastern seaboard and through the southern middle-west, Sarmiento had an opportunity to consider life about him. His observations are of value, not only because they furnished the data for that admiration of the United States which constituted a basis for many future South American reforms, but they also are of interest to North Americans in that they give a picturesque description of the country in the middle of the last century.

These impressions are first of all those of actual travel. So Sarmiento writes of trains, of boats, of hotels. The experiences of travelers at the hands of a curious populace seem to have been far more harrowing than traveling conditions themselves.

Train service has possibly changed the least since the time of Sarmiento's first visit. The actual construction of the coaches is described to be much as it is today. Sarmiento remarks that the cushions are excellent, and as they are all the same, there are no classes and the passage price is the same for all. It is interesting to note details of the service. For example, Sarmiento describes the three hundred and twenty-five mile journey from Albany to Buffalo to be a matter of twelve dollars. The trip took three days, possibly partly because the train obligingly made quarter-of-an-hour stops so that passengers could go out for dinner.

Travel on the Hudson was interesting. Poetically, historically, and commercially speaking, Sarmiento considered the river to be the center of the life of the United States. The route to Boston, Montreal, Quebec, Buffalo, Niagara, and the Lakes, the principal artery along which passed the products of Canada, Vermont, Massachusetts, Jersey, and the state of New York, its waters were always literally covered with boats and to the extent that the way was often as obstructed as the streets of great cities. Steamers crossed like meteoric

exhalations, and tugs bore such a market of boats lashed to their sides that, as they ploughed the river, they raised veritable tides before them. The passenger boats assumed the form and elevation of floating two-storied houses with flat roof and galleries.

Although the cheapness of the passage tempted the Yankee to travel to the extent that, when he left his house for a breath of air, he was apt to take a fifty league journey before returning home again, there was unequaled luxury and grandeur to be found in the steamers that plied the river.

They are floating palaces, three stories in height, with galleries and roofs for promenades. Gold shines in the capitals and architraves of the thousand columns which, as in the *Isaac Newton*, flank monstrous halls capable of containing the senate and the house of representatives. Artistically draped hangings of damask hide staterooms for five hundred passengers, and there is a colossal dining-room with an endless table of polished mahogany and service of porcelain and plate for a thousand guests. This boat can carry two thousand passengers; it has seven hundred and fifty beds, two hundred private cabins; it measures three hundred and forty-one feet in length, eighty-five in width, and it carries one thousand, four hundred and fifty tons in addition.<sup>3</sup>

A journey of one hundred and forty-four miles in such a palace called for the expenditure of but one dollar.

In those boats of the Hudson, there is a holy of holies into whose precincts penetrates no profane eye—a mysterious dwelling, the delights of which one may nevertheless suspect because of the gusts of perfume escaping when its door is momentarily opened. The North Americans have created for themselves customs which have neither example nor antecedent on earth. The unmarried woman . . . is as free as a butterfly until the moment of entering the domestic cocoon for the fulfilment of her social functions with matrimony. Before this period she travels alone, she strolls through the streets of the cities, and publicly carries on chaste yet untrammelled love affairs under the indifferent eye of her parents. She receives people who have not been introduced to her family, and at two in the morning, she returns home from a dance accompanied by the man with whom

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 359, 360.



she has waltzed exclusively all night. . . . Returning, then, to the millions of sweethearts who travel kindling and enlivening the atmosphere with their breath of spring, the boats of the Hudson and of other classic rivers have appropriate compartments for them. This place is called the bridal suite.<sup>4</sup>

The appearance of the passengers seemed noteworthy to Sarmiento.

Grandiose in itself because of the colossal forms of these traveling hotels, new luster is given to the spectacle by the cultured, polished, and even ceremonious appearance of the passengers, since it is the general custom of men and women to wear their best clothes when traveling by water or rail.<sup>5</sup>

This carefulness of appearance was noticeable even in the west. On the inland waterways, when the steamers approached the banks to renew their supply of wood, from the depths of the secular forest and along almost impassable paths, one would see approaching a family of ladies in party dress, accompanied by gentlemen clad in the eternal black swallow-tailed coat. The spectacle of that uniform decency, that general well-being, finally became monotonous through its very uniformity. Fortunately, at times the luster of the picture was dimmed by the apparition of a farmer with untidy clothes, faded, or even dirty, frock coat.

Hotels were even more interesting than boats. Sarmiento describes the interior arrangement of the typical great hotel—its lobby and administrative offices; the register in which the prospective guest inscribed his name; the posted handbills announcing theatrical performances, meetings, the day's sermon, the steamers which were to sail, the railroad schedule. In the library were to be found the principal dailies of the Union and the most recent ones from Europe. Men and women had separate reception rooms. There were even two or three pianos in the equipment of these establishments. Thermal baths were always at the disposal of the guests.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 360, 361.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 447.

At seven thirty in the morning, the unbearable vibration of the Chinese gong, traveling through all the halls, warns the guests that the hour to arise has come. At eight, a new and more prolonged sounding announces that breakfast is served. The crowd of guests appears rushing from each one of the corridors toward the entrance of the immense dining-room. Here begins to be demonstrated the life of these people. . . . Where all men are equal, down to the last individual of society, there is no protection for the weak for the very reason that there are no hierarchies which separate the powerful. Woe to women in this solemn act of popular sovereignty if the regulations of the hotel did not come to their aid and provide for them!

Article 1. No one shall be seated at the common table until the ladies, with their escorts or relatives, have occupied the head and contiguous sides of the table.

Article 2. The public is begged not to smoke or chew tobacco at the table.

Article 3. At a stroke of the bell the men will be seated in the remaining seats.

When these rules are understood the hungry public lines up behind the seats with both hands placed on the backs of the chairs and from the right and left fixes its gaze upon the servant who is to administer the longed-for bell stroke. He takes the sonorous instrument in his hand, and the double line stirs; at the least movement indicative of the bell the bodies describe undulations like those of ears of wheat at the slightest breath of the breeze. The bell is raised in the sounding position, and a close volley of noisily moved chairs accompanies, if it does not precede, the noisy jingle of the shaken brass, and instantly there is a heavy fire of plates, knives, and forks hitting against each other, and prolonged for five minutes. For half a league around one can tell that it is dinner-time in a hotel from the tempestuous noise which is diffused through the air. It is impossible to follow with the glance the successive evolutions of that battle. . . . The pure-blooded Yankee serves himself in a single plate—all together or in succession—all the food, desert, and fruit. We have seen one in the Far West, a place of as dubious a location as the Ophir of the Phoenicians, begin the meal with fresh tomato sauce, taken in enormous quantity, straight, and with the point of the knife. Sweet potatoes with vinegar! We were congealed with horror!<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 369-370.

The Saint Charles of New Orleans seems to have been a typical yet impressive hotel.

The Saint Charles, which raised its proud head over the surrounding hills and woods, the Saint Charles, which had reminded me of Saint Peter's in Rome, was nothing but an inn. Behold the sovereign people which builds for itself palaces under the roofs of which to lay its head for a night; behold the worship granted to man, as man, and the marvels of art employed, lavished, to glorify the popular masses.<sup>7</sup>

Guarded by its statue of a Jupiter-like Washington, the Saint Charles lifted its marble columns from its granite foundation. The entrance opened on a spacious rotunda, paved with marble and corresponding to the great cupola which rested over it. In that enclosure were scattered tables laden with collections of newspapers. The business offices of the house occupied the front; proud staircases wound upward like serpents of bronze, giving access to the upper rooms and even to the cupola itself. A large and orderly crowd of servants was ever ready to obey the least indication of the traveler, and a fireplace capable of containing a ton of hard coal was there to comfort him in winter. Powerful gas illumination, distributed by a thousand jets, scattered torrents of solar light through the whole extent of the building. Toward the back of the building was the dining-room, surrounded by columns, lit by colossal bronze chandeliers, and sufficiently broad to contain three mahogany tables running parallel to the length of the room, a distance of a bit less than an eighth of a mile. Seven hundred guests gathered around these tables in winter, the season of greatest activity and attendance in New Orleans. Sarmiento wrote:

Upon passing through the inner streets which give communication to hundreds of rooms, decorated with all the possible gradations of luxury exacted by the diverse condition of the guests, and which . . . extended fabulous distances, I am converted. . . . By the intercession of Saint Charles, now I believe in the republic; I believe in democracy; I believe in everything. I pardon the Puritans—even the one who was eating tomato sauce straight with the point of his knife and be-

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 365.



fore the soup. Everything should be pardoned the people who raise monuments to the dining-room and crown the kitchen with a cupola like this.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the fact that it was the Saint Peter of hotels, the Saint Charles was not the most spacious of the popular palaces. Each great city of the United States could boast of possessing two or three monster hotels, rivaling each other in the luxury and comfort sold to the public. The prices were of the lowest.

All was not comfort for the guest, however. There appears to have prevailed in these hotels a certain intimacy that must have been a bit trying to guests unaccustomed to such familiarity of treatment.

In the reading salons, four or five importunate fellows lean heavily on your shoulders to read the very same piece of small print that you are reading. If you go down a flight of stairs or try to enter a door, no matter how few people are about, the one following you will push you in order to lean on something. If you are tranquilly smoking your cigar, a passer-by will take it out of your mouth in order to light his, and if you are not wide-awake to receive it, he will take it upon himself personally to put it back into your mouth. If you have a book in your hands and happen to close it a bit in order to look elsewhere, your neighbor will take possession of it and read ten consecutive chapters. If the buttons of your overcoat bear the relief of heads of deer, horse, or boar, all who note it will come, one by one, to examine them, making your person turn from right to left and from left to right, in order to inspect better the traveling museum. Finally, if you wear a full beard in the countries of the North, thereby indicating that you are French or Polish, at every step you will find yourself enclosed in the midst of a circle of men who contemplate you with child-like curiosity, calling their friends or acquaintances to satisfy by their actual presence that interest in novelties.<sup>9</sup>

Besides treating of the physical conditions of travel, Sarmiento notes more general impressions of town, of city, and of architecture. The North American village had apparently

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 366.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 370, 371.

become standardized. It had become a miniature state in its civil government, its press, its schools, its banks, its census, its spirit, and its appearance. In the center of a small clearing in the depths of a primitive forest would be located a village. Its houses were of brick, two stories in height, and were covered by roofs of painted wood. Patent locks held and closed the white painted doors and windows, and green shades enlivened and varied the regularity of their distribution. The village had various public establishments—a brewery, a bakery, various eating houses—each with its gold painted sign perfectly executed by some sign painter. And this was a capital point. Through the entire extent of the Union, advertisements were a work of art—a most unmistakable sign of the advancement of the country. The North American was a classic *littérateur* in the matter of signs, and Sarmiento believed that a small or large letter or an error in spelling would expose a proprietor to the risk of seeing his counter deserted. There must be at least two hotels in the village for the lodging of transients, a printing establishment for a diminutive daily, a bank, and a church. The streets were like those of the large cities, thirty yards in width, including the six yard wide sidewalks which must be left on each side, and they were shaded by the lines of trees which were planted as soon as the street was opened. While there were no means of paving it, the center of the street was a bog into which ventured all the pigs of the village. They occupied such a proud place in the domestic economy that in the whole Union their products were comparable to those from the cultivation of wheat.

In the cities, architectural forms correspond to the objects of worship. . . . The bank is Ionic, the hotel is Corinthian at times and always monumental . . . and even the pinion of Roman architecture has been lengthened to become the image of the ear of corn, symbol of American agriculture.<sup>10</sup>

Religious architecture seemed to Sarmiento to be gradually disappearing as popular architecture developed. There al-

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 368.

ready predominated the architectural practice of placing on the apex of cupolas, like a pinnacle, the statue of Franklin holding the lightning rod.

Sarmiento has left descriptions of definite places as well as these impressions of traveling conditions and of the normal city or town. So it is possible to see how such towns as New York, Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Boston, Washington, and Cincinnati appeared to a foreigner in the middle of the last century.

New York seemed an overgrown village to Sarmiento. As he entered the harbor, the placidity of its natural setting reminded him of the character of Washington and Franklin, men prosaic, ordinary, without brilliancy, but great in their simplicity, eminently goodnatured fellows with common sense, industry, and uprightness.

I was prepared for the spectacle, and I was surprised neither by the very beautiful hills covered with woods, nor by the creeks, canals, and inlets surrounding the city, full of boats and traversed by hundreds of steamers. New York is the center of North American activity, the point of debarkation for the European emigrants, and therefore the least American city in the Union in its appearance and customs. Whole quarters have very narrow and dirty streets bordered with houses of miserable appearance. Pigs are necessary personages in the streets in which they hide and where no one disputes with them their rights to citizenship. There occupies the center of the most beautiful part of the city the Broad Way. . . . It was built by a bond issue, as are all the great North American enterprises. On Broadway, there are beautiful private homes, a white marble bazaar believed to be unrivaled in Europe, and, under construction, a theater for Italian opera. In one hour I counted on Broadway four hundred and eighty carriages—including omnibuses, carts, and coaches—which passed before the window of my boarding house. At night, *Hernani* was being given in a theater improvised in Garden Castle.<sup>11</sup>

Buffalo was a frontier town. On the eastern end of Lake Erie, which in its turn, was the eastern end of the navigation of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior, it was on the line

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 442, 443.



of navigation for Chicago at the western end of Lake Michigan and in contact with the headwaters of the Mississippi. German emigration, especially, passed that way, and the city had become small for the number of its inhabitants. At the wharves a swarm of steamers belched thick masses of smoke from their fires. The unloading of the buffalo skins and the other produce from the trade with the Indians hindered the movement of the procession of passengers going to the port, while, in the city itself, hundreds of men were to be seen on the tops of the buildings, eagerly occupied in constructing new buildings, in an effort suddenly to enlarge the city and to satisfy the needs of a population which each year increased by twenty thousand souls.

It is interesting to note the impression made by Niagara Falls upon Sarmiento. Its colossal dimensions, the enormity of its masses of water, inspired in him only sensations of terror, admiration, and that sublime delight caused by the spectacle of mighty conflicts. He believed the fall to be felt, sensed, only by descending to the abyss which served as its base, wrapping oneself for the purpose in a rubber cape and letting oneself be led by a guide under the fall itself. On the Canadian side there was a magnificent hotel and a museum where live buffaloes were shown and where one might buy sea sponges and petrified coral taken from the region. It was all formerly on the bottom of the sea, and the fall had been changing its location, slowly progressing toward Lake Erie, where it would some day arrive. Sarmiento brings out the utilitarian spirit with which the North American seems to be always credited.

A Yankee who was listening to me with the placid coldness which distinguishes this type of man, showed me the falls under a new point of view. "Beautiful! Beautiful!"—he said, and to explain to me his manner of sensing beauty, he added—"These falls are worth millions. Do you imagine," he said to me, "that motors of forty thousand horsepower can be used if necessary? Then Niagara will be a street flanked on both sides by seven miles of shops, each with its waterfall of the

size the motor needs. Beautiful! Beautiful!"—he added, ecstatic at the useful application of that enormous body of water which today serves only to show the power of nature. I believe that the Yankees are jealous of the falls and that they must occupy them even as they occupy and people the forests.<sup>12</sup>

Boston aroused the unqualified enthusiasm of Sarmiento. He regarded this Puritan city as the pinnacle of Yankee civilization.

The city is founded on a peninsula whose mile-long isthmus serves as the principal means of communication with the continent although many bridges built over the inner bay establish new lines of contact. Gently rolling hills break the monotony and give agreeable points of view to the perspective. There still lives the oak in the shade of which the Pilgrims met to establish their fundamental laws. In Boston was formulated that famous law of 1676, the law of general and obligatory education which precluded the habilitation of human kind. In Boston the colonists convened in meetings and resolved not to pay the duty on tea, to abstain from the use of this infusion and to throw into the sea the boxes of tea in the warehouse. In Boston was fired the first shot in the war of independence. In Boston the public schools are converted into temples by the magnificence of their architecture. Each living being pays a dollar a year to educate the children of his fellowmen, and every poor child annually consumes seven dollars of public income in his education. In Boston is the seat and center of the religion of Unitarianism that tends to unite in a common center all the subdivisions of sect and raise belief to the order of religious and moral philosophy. From Boston, finally, set out those crowds of colonizers who bear to the Far West the institution, knowledge, and habit of government, the Yankee spirit, and the manual arts which preside over the possessing of the land. Four lines of steamers bind it to Europe. A railroad runs along the coast as far as Portland in Maine; another, to Concord, puts it into communication with the state of New Hampshire; another, with Troy and its tributary lines and canals; with New York, three which are completed by lines of navigation by sea or by Long Island Sound. Its hotels are the pride of the United States, and the Tremont hotel is considered to be superior to all in elegance and comfort.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 454.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 462, 463.

In Washington, Sarmiento was impressed by the fact that the capitol seemed to be a matter of name rather than actuality. One might discover that by contemplating the comparative solitude of the monument, cast, as by chance, in the center of a town which, in turn, was the center of nothing—neither of the country, nor of the intelligence, nor of the wealth, nor of the culture, nor of the lines of commerce of the country. A stone wall surrounded the actual edifice; a gas tank provided for the special illumination of the whole monument, supplying the six thousand jets which were lighted for illuminations. They were about to finish an appliance to place on the central cupola—on a pole sixteen yards high—an electric light which was to light the city and possibly the whole District of Columbia. The White House was passably adorned, although not as much as should correspond to the president of the United States. The service of the palace seemed modest and even niggardly in its appearance. One or two porters in livery were the only servants put at the service of the president. He was not permitted to have guards about his person.

The president receives without ceremony those who desire to see him, . . . and two or three days of the year every being and inhabitant has the right to enter to the very room of the president. On July 4, Lafayette square is filled with the carriages of the visitors on that day of congratulations; these alight from the carriage, and after them, the coachman who entrusts the care of the horses to some boy in exchange for a few cents. On those days, the president is on real exhibition. The coachmen open a passageway through the multitude, making their hobnailed shoes resound on the marble floor; they arrive in the presence of the president, and they stretch out to him a calloused hand which grasps his strongly and shakes it, looking into his face the while and laughing at him with a good-natured, provocative, and satisfied expression; they return to their horses, turning around from time to time to cast a glance at the president, to obtain a last peep of pleasure and felicitation. Poor president of the democracy!<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 478.



Besides the capitol Sarmiento mentions other noteworthy buildings—the patent office, the post office, thirty churches, twelve academies, a university, three banks, two orphan asylums, a town hall, a hospital, a penitentiary, a theater, the private homes. He was impressed by the freedom of the women. He mentions the decorum of North American customs, and that liberty which the single woman enjoyed—the safety with which she went in the streets with no one accompanying her, and the fact that she could even stop to look at anything which might attract her attention. Sarmiento visited Mount Vernon and noted its simplicity. Washington's monument typified to him the American people.

In that monument the thing characteristic of Yankee genius is the height, that is to say, the national feeling for surpassing in boldness the entire human species, all civilizations, and all ages. Two meters higher than the highest monument built by man—here you have the concern for the great, for the unrivaled, characteristic of that people. . . .

The idea of raising that monument to Washington reveals another of the signs of the artistic genius of the Yankees. That colossal work is raised by means of a popular subscription of only a few copper coins per individual. . . . That system of popular and spontaneous contribution to the realization of a national thought, constitutes, in my opinion, the clearest proof of the existence of a national artistic feeling.<sup>15</sup>

Foretelling the growth of an artistic sense in the United States, Sarmiento recommended Washington as its center. He believed that the day was not distant when the great European artists would come to the United States in search of gain and to exhibit their masterpieces, collecting dollars by the thousand while the national taste was being educated, and later, eagerly coveting the ovation to talent made by a people which had become a competent judge in matters of art. Famous singers and dancers were already showing the way which later would be followed by painters and sculptors. So pleasant was the journey of art in North America that not

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 489, 491.

many years ago there had been a magnificent theater constructed on a boat which gave performances on both shores of a river whenever it arrived at a town or city of considerable importance. The whole North American conquest of art should be a conscious one. It should be undertaken as a nation. As though to serve as a school, Washington might well display perfect imitations of the rotunda of Agrippa, of the parthenon of Athens, of the cathedral of Rouen, and of half a dozen other famous buildings—models of art. Thus would be converted into an artistic capital that good-for-nothing village, rebel to time and progress, and it would aggrandize and visibly embellish all American cities. Since it was neither a commercial center, nor did the political movement of the country originate in it—on the contrary coming to it from without—Washington was condemned to insignificance if it did not take possession of the only organic principle that it could centralize—that is, the artistic motive and the concentration of monuments which would attract the nation to a common center of vanity, glory, and veneration.

Cincinnati was located on a great inland waterway. From its port one steamer departed daily for Pittsburgh, and others, also daily, left for Saint Louis and New Orleans. Stages connected it with the neighboring cities. There were forty churches, a theater, a museum, a bureau for the sale of state lands, four markets, and a town hall. The city was supplied with water from the river, raised by powerful steam engines. The most distinguishing characteristic of Cincinnati was the great number of literary, scientific, and philanthropic societies. The college of Cincinnati, founded in 1819, had excellent lands and a beautiful building in the center of the city. Woodward College, that of San Javier, founded by the Catholics, and the Presbyterian seminary had sixteen thousand volumes in their libraries, and endowment and professors corresponding to the branches of instruction. The college of jurisprudence was connected with that of Cincinnati, and in one of its halls met the Occidental Academy of Natural Sci-

ences. In another hall there was held an annual fair for the encouragement of arts and manufactures. Other signs of culture were a normal school, the mercantile library for young clerks, a library for apprentices. There were also two Catholic asylums. The economic foundation for this culture lay in the town's basic industry. Cincinnati was the market for the exploitation [*sic*] of pigs, and there was even one class of society to which was given the name of the Pork Aristocracy, since it had grown rich through that industry. Another most notable feature of the town was that pigs lived by thousands in the streets, without any special owner. A citizen would take one to fatten at home, the children rode on them if they succeeded in catching them, and the police ordered them slaughtered if they propagated too rapidly. Despite the enterprise of the city in general, its individual inhabitants seem to have been most peaceful of character.

It was in Cincinnati that Arcos, seeing a peaceful Yankee seated at the door of his shop and reading his Bible, stopped before him, took from his mouth the cigar he was smoking, lighted his own, again put it back in, and continued on his way without the good man's having looked up or made any other movement than to open his mouth so that his cigar might be returned.<sup>16</sup>

From Cincinnati to New Orleans was a journey of 1,548 miles. It took eleven days of journey by steamer,

traveling day and night with no other stops than those necessary to take on wood or change passengers in the cities and quays along the bank.<sup>17</sup>

Sarmiento's memory of New Orleans was the sad one of a town incurably ill, as yellow fever appeared periodically in its precincts every year from such a day of the year to such another.

Besides leaving pictures of conditions and places in the United States, Sarmiento was interested in the people whom

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 508.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 509.



he saw—their general appearance, their self reliance, their manners, their emotional attitude toward religion.

A general sameness of appearance in the matter of clothing has already been noted. Sarmiento writes of the men:

Their daily costume is composed of the following pieces—high boots, trousers and coat of black cloth, vest of black satin, tie of grosgrain, a small cap . . . of cloth, and hanging on a black cord a gold trifle which represents a pencil or a key. On one end of this cord and very deep in the pocket is the most curious piece of Yankee dress. If you wish to study the transformation experienced by the watch from its invention up to our days, ask the time of any Yankee you encounter. You will see fossil watches, mastodon watches, phantom watches, watches the lair of vermin, watches of three stories, puffed up with pride, with drawbridge, a secret staircase to descend, and a lantern to wind them up. . . .

In his pocket the Yankee has a notebook, and on going to bed, he lightly draws hieroglyphics which indicate the plan he has drawn for his actions of the following day.<sup>18</sup>

In the Far West, to be sure, the aspect changed; well being was reduced to strict necessity. Even in the remote plantations, however, there was perfect equality of appearance in clothing, in manners, and even in intelligence. The merchant, doctor, sheriff, farmer—all had the same appearance.

One important characteristic of the Yankee of 1847 was his self reliance.

The Yankee is his own keeper, and if he wants to kill himself, no one will prevent it. If he comes following the train to catch it, and if he dares to give a leap and hang from a rail escaping the wheels, he is at liberty to do so; if the rascally paperboy, driven by the desire to sell one more copy, has waited until the train is proceeding at full speed and then jumps off, all will applaud the skill with which he lands steadily and continues on his way afoot. This is the way the character of nations is formed and how one uses liberty. Perhaps there are a few more victims and accidents, but, on the other hand, there are free men and not disciplined prisoners. . . . The child who wishes to take the railroad, steamer, or canal boat, the bachelor girl

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 356, 357.

who goes to pay a visit two hundred leagues away, never meet anyone to ask them with what object, with what permission they leave the paternal hearth. They are making use of their liberty and their right to move about. From this it comes that the Yankee child horrifies the European by his assurance, his cautious prudence, his knowledge of life at ten years of age.<sup>19</sup>

This reliance is based upon a foundation of knowledge which Sarmiento illustrates by relating certain conditions at the time of the Mexican War. Scarcely was the first cannonshot fired on the Mexican frontier, he says, before the Union was flooded by millions of maps of Mexico. On these, the Yankee traced the movements of the army, opened battle, advanced, took the capital and stationed himself there until the arrival of later news oriented him on the true position of the armies. With his finger placed upon the map, he made his armies march again, and by dint of conjectures and calculations, moved again toward Mexico. Sarmiento believed that the Mexicans might well receive lessons from the Yankee woodsmen on the topography, productions, and advantages of their own country.

This very quality of self-reliant aggressiveness might lead to serious moral defects in the nation. All the energy of character of the entire nation seemed to be applied to the great enterprise of accumulating capital. In order to establish himself in life, the North American fought with nature, hardened himself to difficulties; if morality intervened when he was about to attain his desire, what wonder was it if he set it aside enough to pass on? As North America was a nation of individuals, liberty and equality produced there certain moral defects which did not exist so openly in other parts, because the mass of the nation was not capable of manifesting them.

The most significant aspect of North American manners seemed to Sarmiento to have been a respect for feet.

In a people which, like this, advances its frontier one hundred leagues a year, improvises a state in six months, moves from one end of the

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 378, 379.

Union to another in a few hours, and emigrates to Oregon, feet must enjoy as high esteem as heads enjoy among people who think, or chests among those who sing. In North America, at every step you will see signs of the religious worship which the nation pays to its noble and worthy instruments of wealth—its feet.

Four individuals seated around a marble table will infallibly put their eight feet upon it, unless they can procure a chair upholstered in velvet, which in the matter of softness the Yankees favor over marble. In the Tremont hotel of Boston, I have seen seven Yankee dandies in amicable discussion, seated as follows—two with their feet on the table, one with them on the cushion of an adjacent chair; another with his leg passed over the arm of his own chair; another with both heels supported on the edge of the cushion of his own chair, so as to rest his chin between both knees; another embracing, or rather wrapping his legs around the back of the chair, just as we are wont to support our arms. . . . I do not remember whether I have seen North Americans seated on the chair back with their feet on the cushion; the thing I am sure of is that I have never seen one who prided himself on being a courteous man in the natural posture.<sup>20</sup>

The religions of North America were of great interest to Sarmiento. He decided that the nasal accent of the Yankees came to them from the daily reading of the Bible. Despite this disadvantage, Sarmiento saw immensely profitable results that came from that same reading, and which would make of the people an entity apart in the modern world. He mentions the immense catalogue of intellectual riches to be found in the Bible and the great numbers of those professionally interested in its study. Sixty-seven theological colleges diffused religious knowledge throughout the Union, while those devoted to law scarcely attained the number of ten. Three times as much was being written on religion as upon the investigations of science. Controversy between sects added animation and actuality to reading.

In order to keep alight the sacred fire, there are in constant journey through the remote country districts thousands of itinerant pastors who spend their whole life in this missionary work. They are rough

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 371, 372.



and energetic men who bear agitation everywhere, and awaken spirits, exciting them to the contemplation of eternal truths. . . . The pastor or pastors, gathered together in a religious meeting in the open air or in some improvised slave dormitory, stir up the dulled intelligence of the country people, present to them the image of God and under grandiose, inconceivable forms. When the stimulant has produced its effect, they send the women into the wood on one side and the men on the other, so that, alone, they may meditate, they may find themselves in the presence of themselves, seeing their nothingness, their defencelessness, and their moral defects. . . . The results of this moral cure are strange and inexplicable. The women become delirious, twist and writhe on the ground, foam at the mouth; the men weep, and clench their fists, until, finally, a religious hymn, intoned in chorus, slowly begins to sweeten that holy bitterness; reason regains its sway, the conscience becomes quieted and calmed, and a profound melancholy, mingled with symptoms of moral goodness, is painted on the faces, as if the sentiment of justice had been strengthened by that emetic applied to the spirit.

The profane . . . attribute those singular effects of the word to the excitement produced by lofty ideas in the brain of persons, who, through the monotony of the isolated life they lead, spend entire months without experiencing any emotion of either pleasure or pain. . . .

It is through religious exercises, theological dissidence, and the traveling pastors, that that great human mass lives in continual ferment, and the intelligence of the inhabitants who live farthest from the centers is kept awake, active, and with pores open to receive every kind of culture.<sup>21</sup>

Sarmiento goes on to speak of the spirit of religious and philanthropic association which motivated thousands of wills and consecrated gigantic treasures to the attaining of laudable purposes. The North American had created for himself spiritual necessities as costly and indispensable as those of the body itself. This showed how active was the moral life of the people. In illustration, Sarmiento asks: "In Spanish America, who has ever thought of attempting a crusade against intoxication?"

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 413, 414.

Despite much good-natured mockery of peculiar phases of North American life, Sarmiento had an intense admiration for the achievements of the intellectual leaders of the country.

Today North America invades the world, not with products and inventions, but with engineers, craftsmen, and machinists who teach how to produce greatly at little cost, how to dare all, and how to realize marvels.

I have insisted upon that strange backwardness in art, the result of inherited preoccupations, because not only in the useful arts, but also in the works of the intellect the North Americans are beginning to take their proper place. You are acquainted with Cooper, Washington Irving, Prescott, Bancroft and Sparks, as historians of the first rank in American things, some of them even daring the clarifying of certain episodes of European history; but also there is a great number of renowned writers who have treated the speculative questions of philosophy, political economy, and theology. Let it suffice to say that in the twelve years up to 1842, there have been published one hundred and six original works on biography, one hundred and eighteen on American geography and history, ninety-one on the same with respect to other countries, nineteen of philosophy, one hundred and three of poetry, one hundred and fifteen of novels, while almost at the same time three hundred and eighty-two original American works had been reprinted in England. . . . Orators and statesmen like Everett, Webster, Calhoun, Clay, are equaled only in France and England. . . .

Travelers, naturalists, archeologists in American affairs, geologists, and astronomers, who venture to enrich and even remake science, are comparatively abundant.<sup>22</sup>

Such is Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's picture of the United States of North America which he saw in 1847. Necessarily inaccurate and incomplete, with its overstress on the details which he found nearest at hand, it nevertheless has its interest as a picture of a moment in North American history. His visit was too brief for the attainment of the necessary breadth of knowledge and the acquiring of a perspective which would put detail into normal relationship with detail.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 495, 496.

Sarmiento was to judge America much more truly after another and a longer visit—the period from 1865 to 1868, when he served Argentina as its minister plenipotentiary to the United States.

That Sarmiento did not entirely miss the whole for the detail, however, even in this first visit of his to the United States, is shown by his description of the western surge of population. It is a description epic in tone, even though not absolutely accurate in fact.

Whence come these men? . . . European immigration figures second in these successive immigrations. . . The old or adult states are giving birth to those that are appearing. The Indian hater . . . goes ahead, scattering the members of this singular instinctive sect, whose only dogma is to pursue the savage, whose only appetite the extermination of the indigenous races. No one has sent him; alone with his rifle and dogs, he goes to the woods to hunt the savages, putting them to flight and making them abandon the hunting grounds of their fathers. Then come the squatters, misanthropes who seek solitude for a dwelling place, danger for emotions and the labor of clearing as a solace. At a distance follow the pioneers, opening the forests, sowing the land, and scattering over a great area. Next come the capitalist impresarios with emigrants for peons, and founding cities and villages as the topography of the land advises. Upon the heels of these troops there follows to take its immediate place the young industrial, mechanical, proprietor immigration, breaking with the old states to seek and create its fortune.<sup>23</sup>

It is the settling of a continent that Sarmiento describes.

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 409.



## DOCUMENT

### CUBAN COMMERCIAL REGULATIONS IN 1805

From the early days of its vast American colonies, the ideal of exclusive mercantilistic control was Spain's persistent objective. An elaborate series of commercial regulations accumulated through the years designed to confine the entire trade to a few Spanish mercantile houses. The wars of the late eighteenth century, however, made some relaxation necessary and foreign trade had to be admitted lest the blockading and privateering efforts of Spain's enemies cause the colonies to starve. Vessels of the United States took advantage of the unusual privilege and the state department sent down a series of agents and consuls mostly to Cuba.<sup>1</sup> These men were generally merchants more concerned with promoting their private business than in looking after American interests. Spanish officials had no power to recognize them but usually permitted them to remain. The most active and industrious of these early agents was Henry Hill, Jr., of Connecticut, who was in Havana during the winter of 1805-1806. He really tried to get useful information for the government and for American merchants and his reports are of value. In the following document,<sup>2</sup> Hill describes very cogently the trouble which those desiring to participate in Cuban trade had to face. Especially interesting is the elaborate and truly awful method of computation used in reckoning duties. Nothing much more formidable can be imagined and the procedure well illustrates some differences between the Spanish and the American method of business dealing.

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<sup>1</sup> The general situation is described in R. F. Nichols, "Trade Relations and the Establishment of the United States Consulates in Spanish America, 1779-1809", in this REVIEW, XIII. 289-313.

<sup>2</sup> Hill to Madison, November 1-10, 1805, Despatches from Havana Consulate, U. S. State Department Archives.

1. A duty of 32 1/2 pr Ct on all articles imported in American vessels is exacted on a valuation which reduces it to an average of about 26 pr Ct on the Invoice cost and charges in the United States—except on flour, which pays 1 25/100 Dollars besides the 32 1/2 pr Ct., and is a favor to the Count de Morpox, in consideration of the suspension of a permission granted him by royal authority previous to the present war for the exclusive introduction of that article; which enhances the duty on flour to [\$] 4 40/100 pr Bbl—an article of the first necessity, of which at least 70,000 bbls are annually required for the consumption of the population of Havana and its vicinity alone.

2d. A duty of 32 1/2 pr Ct is exacted on the sale of every American Vessel, (unless to a Spanish subject and incorporated in the Spanish marine) whether such sale is voluntary or caused from necessity—of which there are three examples now in this port of Vessels condemned as unfit for sea.

3d. Captains of Vessels before they are allowed to land or have any communication from shore, are required to produce their manifests to the boarding officer of the Custom House. Another is required to be presented by the consignee, and each consignee of Cargo is obliged to produce his separate Invoice—This is well enough, in order to prevent frauds being committed on the revenue—But, they must all undergo a translation by a person placed there for that purpose, whose charge is exorbitant and is paid by the American merchant, and is an imposition which robs our commerce of at least 15,000 Dollars annually—It is totally unnecessary, for each consignee might translate his own Invoice without expence [*sic*] or delay, which would leave no opening for a fraud on the revenue, and is an imposition imposed for the express purpose of favoring the person who holds this lucrative place.

4th. Some alteration having taken place on the 28th of May last in the regulation of duty, which was published officially, it was expressly allowed by the 5th article of that regulation, that neutral vessels importing goods of the growth or manufacture of Spain, with certificates from the Custom Houses whence they should be cleared in Spain, of their being such, should pay no more duty on such goods than is exacted when imported in Spanish Vessels. Goods of this description have been since imported in American Vessels, with all the proofs of their origin required by P[ort] regulations and have

been denied the privilege [*sic*] conceded by it; under the pretext that such goods must be the property of Spanish subjects.

5. By order of the Intendant of the 28th of June last, Vessels from neutral ports are required to have certificates from the Spanish Consuls there, if any, if not, from persons authorized to grant them by the Spanish Ambassador, to each particular Invoice, certifying the port to which the Vessel is destined, to the weight, measure, quality, quantity, and value of the goods they contain—which certificates are not asked for here at the Custom House, but may be demanded, and in default of them, the vessel be subjected to detention, and the goods to confiscation. This absurd and unnecessary imposition, I have good reasons to believe was imposed at the particular instance & request of the Spanish Consuls in the United States.

6th If by mistake or ignorance more goods are entered than are on board, the duty notwithstanding is exacted upon the quantity entered. If, from the same cause less are entered than are found on board, the remainder are confiscated without any indulgence. And although an article of weight or measure may have lost before delivery near the whole of its original quantity, the duty is exacted on the quantity expressed in the Invoice.

7th All goods are obliged to be passed through the Custom House, and if dry, articles are taken out of their several packages for examination, are frequently plundered, and sometimes detained several months, unless gratifications are given to obtain their release.

8th Masters of Vessels on their arrival are obliged to present themselves to the Captain of the port, and subscribe to his regulations, and if they deviate the least from this, or from any other cause are so unfortunate as to offend this petulant [*sic*], petty despot of the Harbour, are frequently thrown into a prison the most loathsome in the world, among criminals of every class of crime, and description of colour, or placed in the public stocks exposed to public view and ridicule, untill he is pleased to liberate them.

9th Vessels clearing from the United States for the Island of Cuba *generally*, meet with imposition and detention from that cause. The port to which they are bound is required to be designated in their papers.

10th There is no remission of duty on reexportation of any article, and an exportation duty of 9 1/2 pr Ct is exacted. Thus, the person importing goods here, after they are once landed, is obliged to sell

them at any price he can obtain; for loaded with such heavy impositions, there is no market to which he can send them, with a prospect of bettering himself.

11th Vessels putting into any of the ports in Cuba in distress, are subjected to the suspicions of the government, particularly if from Enemies ports, and although their distress be manifest, unnecessary and perplexing embarrassments are thrown in their way, and injurious delays occasioned. If the vessel thus situated has a Cargo, and is irreparable, or so much damaged that it becomes necessary to unload, and sell the Cargo, nearly the whole is sacrificed to satisfy [sic] the duty, and pay the expence [sic] attending tedious and multifarious formalities.

12th In every department of the Govt from the multiplicity of their injuries, and abuses upon them, frequent applications are required to be made by our citizens. The most abusive impositions are put upon them; their rights are regarded and business facilitated, only as they apply fees to clerks and officers, and they are treated with contempt, indifference, and ridicule.

13th No American is allowed to transact his own business, in his own name, but must employ a Spanish subject to do it for him.

Innumerable minor impositions are imposed by minor officers of the Govt which I take no notice of, considering them as not directly authorized, though openly tolerated by the Govt. It is only those which originate with, or are publicly sanctioned by the chiefs of departments which I regard. Neither do I make any mention of the notoriously frequent and flagitious deprecations [sic] upon our commerce within the jurisdiction of this Island, which are attended with sanguinary and barbarous treatment towards our citizens in almost every instance of capture, as it is my intention to make this the subject of some future remarks.

In this notice of the abuses on our commerce, although it is headed "Abuses &c in the Island of Cuba" I confine myself to Havana in my remarks thereon, because I cannot rely upon my information as it respects the other ports in the Island, and consider it a matter of small importance; their exports, and our trade with them being inconsiderable.

It becomes necessary however, for the information I wish to convey, to state, that the duty on flour given to the Count de Morpox of



1 25/100 Dollars is not exacted in those ports, his permission being granted for Havana alone.

. . .

But the Govt of Cuba have no sense of obligations, neither will they place our trade upon a just and reciprocal footing unless compelled to do it.

They pretend they have not the power; that they have not authority to reduce the duty; being bound by the laws, and instructions of their Court which forbid it. But this is not true. Although there may be laws affixing the duty, and instructions from the Court respecting neutral trade, the Govt and Intendent [*sic*] of the Island have discretionary power by other instructions to act as necessity shall dictate for its benefit and preservation. And there is no law respecting its trade, which under present circumstances they have not power to relax, revoke, or enforce, as they may deem convenient—

The following is the principle on which the excessive duty is exacted on goods imported in foreign Vessels. In Spain a duty of 15 per Ct. on the valuation is exacted on entrance upon foreign goods, and seven pr Ct. on exportation to the colonies which makes 22 pr Ct. and on importation in the colonies a duty of 10 pr Ct. is exacted, which with half pr Ct. consulado duty makes 32 1/2 pr Ct. It is necessary here to observe that most goods have a valuation fixed by law; but those that have not are estimated at the Custom House according to the then prices of the market—upon which valuation 8 pr Ct is added before the calculation of duty is made—And that besides the 32 1/2 pr Ct. There is a tax called *vestuario* for militia cloathing payable on all kinds of wine & spirits, at the rate of 3/8th of a Dollar for 4 1/2 arrobas of the liquor. The barril de carga of 6 to a pipe is reckoned at 4 1/2 arrobas. The canary pipe at 30 arrobas—The pipe of Catalonia at 32 arrobas. Pipes of the other parts of Spain at 28 arrobas, & all other casks proportionately. Flour also pays a *de vestuario* duty of 3 reals or 37 1/2 cts pr Barril. These are the duties affixed by the laws of Spain on goods of foreign growth or manufacture imported to Spain and exported from thence to the colonies. As these laws, nor any other ever contemplated the admission of foreign goods in the colonies direct from a foreign country, no provision was ever made for such cases. For this reason, I do not conceive this Govt have a right by law to exact more than 10 1/2 pr

Ct on goods imported here in Am. Vessels. The operation [*sic*] of the law is very different in its effects, whether goods are imported here by the circuitous rout[e] of Spain, or direct from a foreign Country. For instance—suppose goods to be shipped from the United States for Spain, the shipper on entrance there pays 15 pr Ct. The person who purchases them, exports them to Havana on paying 7 pr Ct. where on entrance they pay 10 1/2 pr Ct. more; which being moderate, if the market is not glutted falls upon the consumer. Thus the duty is proportioned among them. But on goods imported direct from the United States the whole falls upon the importer, as has been shown in the preceding observations.

...

As there is an imposition in calculating the duty, and it is purposely involved in mystery & obscurity, I will unravel it. The following is the method of calculating the duty—

All goods are valued in the Arancel, or book of rates, in reals of Vellon, whereof 20 to the hard Dollar.

Desired to know the duty payable at Havana on 12 1/4 Ct wt of soap, which is rated in the arancel or spanish book of rates @ 80 rs of Vellon pr. Ct wt (which is rated lower according to its value than any other articles) multiply the wt vizt. 12 1/4 C wt by 80 rs Vellon is 980 rs Vn. amnt of the valuation—980 rs Vellon make 521 reals of plate, being in the proportion to each other of 64 to 34; because the real of plate is equal to 64 maravedis vellon, and the real of vellon equal to 34 of the same maravedis.

521 rs plate being amnt of the rated value of the soap 41 do do. for colonials augmentation on said sum of 521 rs @ 8 pr Ct. is 562 rs of plate. 10 pr Ct. on said sum of 562 rs for colonial duty makes 56 rs of plate, whereof 10 5/8 to the hard Dollar.

These reals of plate, are converted into equal number of colonial reals of 8 to the Dollar for payment of the duty.

This operation furnishes only the colonial part of the duty on said quantity of soap; the remaining part being found as follows—

980 rs Vellon being amnt of the rated value of said soap, makes 392 colonial reals of 8 to the hard Dollar because said hard Dollar is equal to 20 rs Vellon. Now 22 pr Ct ((being the European duty) on said sum of 392 rs of Havana, makes 86 Havana reals. This sum of 86 rs together with the before mentioned one of 56 rs make the amnt

of duty payable at Havana on said quantity of 12 1/4 C wt of soap, exclusive of the consulado; which is charged on the foregoing sum of 562 rs @ 1/2 pr Ct & amounts to 2 1/2 rs of Havana money; which added to the foregoing sum of 86 & 56. make the whole duty 144 1/2 rs or \$18.6/100 on said soap.

This tedious, complicated operation may be abridged, by charging the amnt of the article as valued in the Arancel with 37 pr Ct. the result whereof will be exactly the same as in the other method; for instance, 980 rs vellon being amnt of the rated value of the soap @ 37 pr Ct. produces 362 1/2 rs vellon; which sum brought into Havana reals of 8 to the Dollar, at the rate of 20 rs Vellon to the hard dollar, makes exactly 144 1/2 rs or \$18.6/100. Therefore the duty though nominally 32 1/2 pr Ct on the valuation is actually 37 pr Ct. occasioned by the difference of exchange between the reals of plate in which the colonial duty is calculated, and the Havana real. The former being converted into an equal number of the latter.

By the regulation of 28th of May, there is a diminution in the duty of the Arancel goods of 7 1/4 pr Ct. from what they were subject to before that period; which is occasioned by the reduction of the reals of plate into colonial reals, in the due proportion, of that part of the duty which is charged @ 22 pr Ct; whereas heretofore, the reals of plate were payable in an equal number of Colonial reals, as it still continues to be on the other part of the duty of 10 1/2 pr Ct. as exemplified in the above calculation of the duty on 12 1/4 C wt of Soap—So that the duty exacted previous to this regulation was actually 44 1/4 pr Ct.

In the preceding notes of abuses No 1—I have said the duty is about 26 pr Ct on the cost & charges in the United States. It may be something more, or less. I made this calculation from the duty paid on several Cargoes, and averaged the amnt with the aggregate amount of invoices of the said Cargoes.

It was a long time before I could ascertain the principle of calculating the duties. It did not seem to be known even in the Custom House; and there are not three merchants in the city that understand it.

A veil of mystery was thrown over it as on every thing else relating to the system & policy of this Govt, which it requires time & perseverance to penetrate.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Who's Who in Latin America. A Biographical Dictionary of the outstanding living Men and Women of Spanish America and Brazil.* By PERCY ALVIN MARTIN (editor) and MANOEL DA SILVEIRA SOARES CARDOZO (assistant editor). (Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1935. Pp. xxiv, 438. \$6.50.)

Professor Martin modestly calls this valuable book a manual and rightly asserts in its preface that the need of such a work has been evident for some time. Anyone interested in Hispanic American affairs, no matter in what particular field, has been for years looking for a book like this.

Beyond the Río Grande there are 120 millions of people, having inherited, diversified, and changed cultures which are centuries old—indeed, in this part of the world, they have been established for some four hundred years—and their most representative leaders should be known in this country. The effort made by Professor Martin in the preparation and printing of this most useful collection of biographical data, is very commendable.

Each of the biographies contained in this volume gives name, age, nationality, profession, attainments, publications, and other pertinent data of a distinguished Hispanic American in the fields of science, the arts, politics, social studies, diplomacy, or business. Through each of these biographies it is possible to know of the cultural societies, the bibliography, the educational centers, the periodicals, and newspapers, and many of the departments of government of Hispanic America, as well as of the current events of those countries, whose importance is daily becoming more manifest.

The book, if useful for American scholars and students, will also be very useful for the Hispanic Americans themselves, owing to several reasons, among which could be mentioned the facts that there is nothing like it either in Spanish or in Portuguese, that with the exception of Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Chile, and Mexico, national directories are very rare in Hispanic America, and also that in any crisis affecting their political lives, it will not be possible in this or any other country to minimize the attainments or qualifications for office



of a new leader by telling the American people that they are not "personas conocidas" (well known persons), as happened in 1933 with regard to the members of a revolutionary government in Cuba.

The book contains some twelve hundred biographies, alphabetically arranged and with a number of useful indices to facilitate consultation. It would be an exaggeration to call this book a perfect one, and Professor Martin is the first one to consider it "pioneer in character". It can be improved very much in other editions, and doubtless will be. There are many and very important names missing from almost every country; but from what this reviewer knows with respect to the Cubans from whom information was solicited, in several cases the questionnaires sent out by Professor Martin were never returned because of the absurd apathy of certain persons. Another defect is that there are less biographies of distinguished Hispanic American women than one would expect to see.

These are just minor objections, especially in the case of the first edition of a book of this type. This production of Professor Martin and his assistant, Mr. Manoel da Silveira Soares Cardozo, merits the highest praise. This first *Who's Who in Latin America* is, indeed, a most valuable work.

HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ.

Black Mountain, North Carolina.

*Foreign Interest in the Independence of New Spain. An Introduction to the War for Independence.* By JOHN RYDJORD. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1935. Pp. xii, 347. Map. Index. \$3.00.)

In his preface, the author of this monograph conveys the impression that the origin of the movement for the independence of New Spain lies as far back as the days of Hernando Cortés. By undertaking to investigate the foreign influence that operated in that vice-royalty from 1519 to 1810 he undertook a difficult task. Dr. Rydjord not only used printed sources and special studies but also rare manuscripts in American and European repositories. He concludes that, during the entire period of his study, the desire for independence in Mexico would probably have needed foreign support if it were to culminate in a successful movement for liberation from Spanish rule.

After sketching the background of the movement for Spanish-American independence, the author devotes three chapters to a con-

sideration of projects for Mexican independence before 1776. Upon reaching the era of the American Revolution, he considers insurrectionary tendencies in the Spanish Indies in considerable detail. He devotes a chapter to a discussion of the effects upon Mexico of the revolt of the Thirteen Colonies. After considering the revival of English interest in Spanish America about 1796, he suggests the influence of the events that ended in the negotiation of the Franco-American peace of 1800.

An entire chapter is then devoted to a consideration of the attempts of Spain to provide an adequate defence for its American colonies against foreign aggression. The machinations of Aaron Burr with respect to Mexico are noticed. The hopes and fears entertained by Miranda, Pitt, Castlereagh, Popham, and Wellesley with regard to the Spanish Indies are presented in some detail. A chapter entitled "Braganzas, Bourbons, and Bonapartes", deals with the usurpations of the emperor of the French in the Iberian Peninsula which constituted the direct cause of the uprisings that culminated in the independence of the Spanish-American nations. One of the most enlightening and interesting parts of the monograph is that which describes the reaction against Napoleon in Mexico. The last part of the book suggests the mysterious rôle in the secession of the Indies of Joseph Bonaparte, "the First King of Spain and of the American Continent", as he occasionally styled himself. An extensive and useful bibliography furnishes the capstone to the work.

This monograph is a welcome addition to the shelf of books in English dealing with the relations between foreign powers and Spanish America. It adds to the existing fund of information at many points and will be very helpful to subsequent investigators. Nevertheless, it has provoked in the mind of the reviewer the query whether the industrious author might not better have focused his attention upon the policy of one foreign power toward the Spanish Indies or else have confined his attention to a consideration of external influences upon New Spain during a limited period.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

University of Illinois.

*Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States. Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860.* Selected and arranged by WILLIAM R. MANNING. Vol. VI., *Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France: Documents 2191-2671.* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1935. Pp. xxxii, 735. \$5.00.)

In planning this series, the editor must have found it difficult to make a choice between several different modes of procedure: whether to arrange the volumes by geographical areas, by political affinities, by alphabetical order, or by some other method. Of the various possibilities, he chose the one that would seem to be best calculated to bring the materials together in a medley of likes and unlikes; but in effect that has not been the result. The first volume, devoted to Argentina, was followed by a volume embracing the correspondence of the geographically, as well as alphabetically, contiguous countries of Bolivia and Brazil. By the happy use of the designation of "Central America" the five isthmian republics came next. The two volumes devoted to this area were not related to the first two, but within themselves they presented a coherent body of material. To complete the letter "C" another volume was required for the correspondence of Chile and Colombia. The sequence from Central America to Colombia could not have been better, though Chile would have entered more appropriately perhaps into some other combination. The volume under review, the sixth of the series, proceeds alphabetically to the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, and France. Even in this combination there is less of the haphazard effect that one might expect to find.

The three countries, to be sure, lie isolated from one another. Ecuador at one of the extremes is intimately bound up in its historical evolution with Colombia. If the fate of the alphabet had thrown these two neighbors into the same volume, that arrangement doubtless would have been better. Fuller light would have been shed at once, for example, on the course that Colombia felt impelled to pursue as a defense against the projected expedition of General Juan José Flores. Yet this very subject serves to illustrate the difficulty of bringing all the threads of every diplomatic story together in a single volume. Before the history of the Flores expedition is complete, still other countries must be heard from. Great Britain and Spain will have something to say from the European side, and Peru is yet to speak on the American side. A French connection with the expedition is

shown in the present correspondence, and that, together with details regarding one or two other diplomatic incidents in the relations between Ecuador and France, will in some measure exonerate the alphabet from blame in bringing the two countries within the covers of the same volume.

Between Ecuador and the Dominican Republic on the other hand there seems to have been no interchange of any sort. Economically and politically separate as these two republics were, the lines of their diplomatic history did not cross. There was a close connection, however, between France and the Dominican Republic—a connection which dates back to the colonial era. By the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, France gained definite possession of the part of the island now known as Haiti, and a century later it became the sovereign, nominally at least, of the whole island. Though the connection was severed early in the nineteenth century, the interest of France in its former colony never seemed to abate. Unfortunately, the record is incomplete. Haiti, for the first dozen years or so of the period covered by the series, was dominant over the whole island; but as it was not recognized by the United States there were no diplomatic agents there to keep the government at Washington informed.

The situation changed after the separation of Santo Domingo in 1844. Formal recognition of both republics was still withheld, but from this time on the United States sent special agents to Santo Domingo to report on conditions in both parts of the island. From the despatches of these agents, supplemented by the correspondence of the ministers of the United States in France, can be pieced together the history of the turbulent years that followed. There were questions of conflict between the two island republics, of internal disorder in both, of claims of European governments, of threatened intervention, of joint protectorates, and of international rivalries in which the United States, France, England, and Spain played a part. Here again is a story that will not be complete until the series is finished; yet, through the accident of the alphabet its broad outlines are seen in the present volume.

The French correspondence comprises somewhat more than a third of the total. It is of special interest because it surveys the scene from the European point of view and because it reveals so clearly the ambition of France to play a dominant rôle in the affairs of the new-world



nations of "Latin" origin. It throws additional light on the armed intervention in Argentina, on isthmian problems, and on a number of other matters in which a French interest has been shown in previous volumes of the series. It does more than that. It introduces a whole series of questions that have not fallen within the purview of the volumes already published. Some of these questions arose in connection with Cuba, which, because of its colonial status during the period, will not have a separate place in the series. The greater part of them, however, relate to Mexico, where internal disorder and conflict with the United States provided an opportunity of which France took advantage in an effort to realize its new world ambitions. The correspondence to which these matters gave rise—the instructions of the secretaries of state, the despatches from the ministers in France, and other incidental communications—supply extraordinarily interesting reading for the student of American diplomatic history. The debt of every such student to the Carnegie Endowment for making the series possible and to Dr. Manning for his excellent editing, mounts as the publication proceeds.

JOSEPH B. LOCKEY.

University of California  
at Los Angeles.

*Apéndice al Diccionario histórico-biográfico del Perú.* By EVARISTO SAN CRISTÓVAL. (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, S. A., 1935. Vol. I. Pp. viii, 487. Index.)

Reference has already been made in an earlier number of the *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* to the new edition in ten volumes of Mendiburu's classic *Diccionario Histórico-Biográfico del Perú* by Evaristo San Cristóval. This enterprising and scholarly young Peruvian writer and diplomat has now launched the first volume of an *Apéndice* embracing the letters ABA-CUS. The value and importance of this series of supplementary volumes are obvious. When Mendiburu undertook his monumental work something over a century ago, public and private archives were in the greatest disorder. Partly on this account, partly because an immense quarry of unused material has been rendered available during the last few decades, the *lacunae* in the dictionary are numerous. Sr. San Cristóval has discovered something over four thousand omissions, which thanks to his

industry and opportunities for research—he is chief of the boundary archives in the ministry of foreign affairs—will be filled in this new series. Even a cursory glance at the first volume will reveal the wealth of new material. While few of the biographies deal with personages of outstanding importance there are many minor figures, especially eminent ecclesiastics, who contributed to the richness and color of the great days of viceregal Peru. New light is also shed on the revolutionary era. There is, for instance, a long biographical sketch of Manuel Belgrano, based on material much of which was unknown to Mitre. In an appendix is published an extraordinarily and arresting document, namely the list of persons who were condemned for their share in the conspiracy of Gonzalo Pizarro, and the punishments meted out to them. The list includes Spaniards, Portuguese, Burgundians, and even Greeks. Here is graphically revealed how the long arm of Charles V. could reach out to punish traitors, even when his transatlantic empire was in its infancy. Even civilians were caught in the dragnet. Witness: “Pedro Oriate, sastre, natural de Borgoña, sentenciado por traydor e cient azotes e destierro perpetuo, para España, e galeras el remo toda su vida, e perdimiento de bienes”.

Thanks to Sr. San Cristóval the historical literature of Peru has been greatly and permanently enriched. Students will await the appearance of subsequent volumes with eager interest.

Stanford University.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

*Páginas Desconocidas.* By JUAN MONTALVO. Tomo I. [Publicaciones de la Revista de la Universidad de la Habana, Tomo V.] (Habana: Talleres de Cultural, S. A., 1936. Pp. xvi, 473.)

La obra en cuestión está precedida de una muy valiosa “Introducción” debida a la pluma del doctor Agramonte, a quien, como a Don Roberto Andrade—ese anciano nimbado por todas las grandezas, así las de su mente preclara como las de su noble corazón—debemos los devotos del Cervantes del Nuevo Mundo, que muchas de estas brillantes producciones no se hayan quedado para siempre en el mayor desconocimiento e ignorancia.

La meritísima labor de Gonzalo Zaldumbide de editar de nuevo en la afamada Casa Garnier de París, las principales obras del Maestro, tiene aquí, en Cuba, un continuador entusiasta y concienzudo. Pero el mérito excepcional de estas “Páginas” que ahora tenemos a la

vista, consiste en que no es hiperbólico decir que ellas sean desconocidas, pues son muy contadas las personas que habían tenido oportunidad de leerlas. Los originales rarísimos de donde se han reproducido éstas que ven la luz pública en Cuba, están casi destruidos por la acción del tiempo y se leen con suma dificultad. El ejemplar del panfleto *La Dictadura Perpétua* que se reproduce en la página 257 y siguientes, del presente volumen, (con un fotograbado de la portada) perteneció al propio don Roberto Andrade, y es *el mismo* que determinó el estado de ánimo de los conspiradores, cuando decidieron la muerte del tirano García Moreno. Siendo de observar, como dato curioso, que la forma de su muerte fué profetizada exactamente por Montalvo en este trabajo. La influencia que el mismo produjo en la juventud fué enorme. Así, cuando meses más tarde, recibió *El Cosmopolita* la noticia de la muerte de García Moreno pudo decir "No es el acero de Rayo; es mi pluma que le mató".

Eso, sin contar, con el valor que en sí tienen todos esos magistrales artículos y folletes, tales como *El Antropófago*, el cual, aparte de ser uno de los estudios filosóficos más apreciables de Montalvo, resulta muy raro, pues al tiempo de su publicación solamente se editaron unos tres o cuatro ejemplares. Gran valor tienen igualmente *El Pedro Lachaise*, de fondo admirable y de forma insuperable; y *Del Orgullo y la Mendicidad*, donde se describe, con mano maestra, el carácter español y la nación y el suelo de España.

Sería prolijo enumerar los escritos todos de que se compone este tomo primero de las *Páginas Desconocidas* de Juan Montalvo; pero sí es posible afirmar que no hay una sola de esas hojas que no contenga grandes enseñanzas, profundas observaciones y dolorosas descripciones de las costumbres, vicios y defectos de nuestros pueblos infelices, que no sean una aplicación directa e inmediata a los males presentes, y que en algunos aspectos no refleje fielmente el actual momento histórico.

Desde ese punto de vista, sin contar la pureza, elegancia y maestría del lenguaje, son recomendables la lectura y meditación de las *Páginas Desconocidas*, hijas de aquel espíritu libre y grande que fué Juan Montalvo.

Demos, pues, las gracias más cumplidas a los que, por el señalado servicio de haber conservado y dado a la publicidad estas "Páginas", no dudamos en calificar de benefactores de espíritus superiores y

hagamos votos fervientes porque muy en breve aparezcan esas otras páginas, aún inéditas, que constituirán el segundo volumen de la obra.

FEDERICO CÓRDOVA.

Habana, Febrero de 1936.

*España y la Educación popular en América.* Por CONSTANTINO BAYLE, S. J. (Madrid: Instituto Pedagógico F. A. E., 1934. Pp. 388. 12 pesetas.)

Until recently the more glamorous aspects of Spanish conquest and domination in the new world have preoccupied historical students almost exclusively, and the sensational incidents of the conquest and the wars of independence have received a disproportionate attention and space in their writings. But these colorful and fascinating incidents were, after all, merely incidents in the long record of Spain in America, for during the centuries intervening between these picturesque episodes the mother country devoted much energy to the far less dramatic and far more difficult task of civilizing its new charges through the establishment of stable government, churches, and schools all over a vast empire and through the training of the natives in the arts and crafts. But in popular imagination, Spain the ruthless exploiter, still eclipses Spain the pioneer civilizer. It is well, then, that a number of works have appeared of late proving that the peninsula authorities were not utterly selfish in their treatment of subject peoples and that, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, at least, they made earnest efforts to give the Indians educational opportunities comparable with those obtainable in Spain itself. One of the best documented studies of this nature and throwing much light on these creditable achievements of the Spaniards is the work under review.

After demonstrating that contemporary European colonizers had little to boast of when their actual accomplishments in this respect are compared with those of Spain, the author devotes successive chapters to an account of the educational labors of Spanish ecclesiastics in New Spain, Central America, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, and the Río de la Plata region, reciting in detail the tremendous obstacles faced and the positive results attained. He stresses particularly the careful instruction received by the Indians in music, agriculture, animal husbandry, and the trades, the results of which have had a permanent effect especially in those regions of a predominantly native population.



Throughout this study, meaty footnotes and an excellent bibliography attest the author's thorough familiarity with original and contemporary sources and also the most recent literature of his subject in various languages. All this material is well organized in this attractively printed volume and the thoughtful reader will not fail to be convinced that a great injustice has been done in the general concept of Spanish rule in America; the noble work of the Pedro de Gantes and the Vasco de Quirogas should receive equal consideration with the alleged barbarities of the followers of the Pizarros and Cortes in order that a fairer picture may be obtained.

To the reviewer, the scholarly excellence of this important contribution to the historiography of Spain in America is marred by two things: the tendency to introduce into the narrative too many lengthy quotations from the sources and the secondary authorities, and the somewhat pugnacious tone of many of the author's own passages. One feels at times that Father Bayle is engaged in a bitter polemic with some unscrupulous antagonist and this stirs him emotionally to excessive sarcasm and even to partisan outbursts (see page 59). It is easy to sympathize with the author's righteous indignation at the perpetuation of the *leyenda negra* by historians who should have known better, but when there is so much truth and right on his side as in the present instance he can well afford to present his evidence calmly and dispassionately, confident that the sheer weight of evidence will vindicate his cause and win a favorable verdict in the court of public opinion.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

University of California,  
Berkeley.

*History of Texas, 1673-1779.* By FRAY JUAN AUGUSTÍN MORFI. Translated with biographical introduction and annotations by CARLOS EDUARDO CASTAÑEDA. (Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1935. 2 vols. I. pp. 242. II. pp. 243-496.)

It is especially appropriate that number VI of the handsome publications of the Quivira Society appearing on the eve of the Texas Centennial should be the annotated translation of an early, hitherto unpublished, history of that great state. It is also a matter for congratulation that the discoverer of this manuscript was a scholar so

well qualified for the exacting task of translating and annotating this work as the Latin American Librarian of the University of Texas. Early in January, 1931, while making a survey of the official archives of the Convento Grande de San Francisco now lodged in the National Library of Mexico, Dr. Castañeda came upon the manuscript of Father Morfi's unfinished *Historia de Texas* so often confused with that author's better known *Memorias para la Historia de Texas*. Realizing the importance of his discovery, Dr. Castañeda photostated this document and many others related to it and, subsequently, prepared the excellent, two-volume edition now available.

In the first part of the comparatively brief introduction, the few facts have been brought together that are known of the life of Father Morfi, whose name originally was probably written in the more Hibernian form of Murphy. The latter accompanied Theodore de Croix as chaplain on his history-making tour of the northern provinces of New Spain in the fall and winter of 1777. Apparently, this adventure moved the good father upon his return to assemble a vast number of documents pertaining to the history of the outlying region that he had visited in person. Some of these data were incorporated in the *Memorias para la Historia de Texas* which have been utilized by historians. Dr. Castañeda makes very clear the distinction between this older work and the manuscript *Historia* which he discovered. The *Memorias*, containing more details, bear the relation of a first draft later compressed and more carefully organized in the *Historia de Texas*. It appears that the latter was begun to refute the insinuations of Bonilla in his *Breve Compendio de la Historia de Texas* against the first Franciscan missionaries (members of Morfi's own religious order) and their efforts to plant missions in Texas. Unfortunately, he did not live to complete his task and the unfinished manuscript became less known than the earlier *Memorias*.

In the introduction, Dr. Castañeda lists four different copies of the *Memorias para la Historia de Texas*: one described by Chavero in the *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*; a second in the Bancroft Library of the University of California; a third in the Academy of History at Madrid; a fourth at the Library of Congress; and "a possible fifth copy described by Garrison" ("The Archivo General de México", *The Nation*, May 30, 1901). It seems pertinent to state in this connection that in 1930 the reviewer examined a copy existing in

the British Museum. It was entitled *Historia de Texas* [Mss. Eg. 1792], but a study of part of the document clearly indicates that it was a copy of the *Memorias*. This may be an additional copy or, perhaps, either the first or the "possible fifth" of Dr. Castañeda's list.

A useful catalogue of Morfi's writings and letters is placed at the end of the introduction of Dr. Castañeda's edition; this is divided into three classes: (a) those by or attributed to Morfi; (b) documents copied by Morfi; and (c) letters written to him. Possibly Mex. Mss. No. 162, of the Bancroft collection should be added to the second group as it is a volume of documents which, though copied by various hands, bears Morfi's signature and rubric on the index page.

Following this catalogue is the text of the *Historia de Texas* in translation in ten chapters, each of which is profusely annotated. The translation is up to the high standard which Dr. Castañeda has set for himself in previous books and may be read with more comfort than is usually the case where an effort is made to adhere to the peculiarities of style in the original. The notes are full and complete, giving a wealth of clarifying information drawn from the *Memorias*, contemporary works, and other sources. Possibly a more detailed discussion of Morfi's authorities, especially for the first part of the *Historia*, would be welcome. Among the more than ten thousand pages of manuscript from the archive of the Convento Grande de San Francisco listed, rearranged, and copied by Dr. Castañeda (see p. 38, n. 20) were there letters and reports of Father Massanet and other missionaries among the Texas Indians? Morfi was not the first to write a history of Texas for, in 1691, the semi-official historian of the viceroyalty, Don Carlos de Sigüenza (1645-1700) announced his *Historia de la Provincia de Carolina* [Texas] which "saldrá a luz quando gustare de ello quien [the viceroy] me mandó escribirla" see Sigüenza, *Trofeo de la Justicia Española*, p. 72). Though it does not appear that this work was ever published there is some evidence that Morfi had access to many of Sigüenza's scattered writings and it is possible that the history of Texas was among these. Morfi's account of the Pensacola incident and the Arriola-Sigüenza dispute, for example, related in Chapter IV of the history under review was surely based on Sigüenza documents which, unquestionably, were the "biased" sources that Dr. Castañeda mentions (p. 177, n. 27). It would be interesting, therefore, to learn how much more of Morfi's *Memorias* or *Historia* were derived from the Creole savant.

At the end of the second volume there is an extensive bibliography, offering an impressive array of works, both printed and manuscript, utilized in the preparation of Dr. Castañeda's edition. Fewer plates than usual embellish this the most recent of the Quivira publications but an excellent folding map facilitates identification of geographical points mentioned.

A few slips have been noted. P. 25, n. 35 refers the reader to "paragraph 378 of the text". Apparently, this is a misprint for "paragraph 478". P. 176, n. 24: The citation of the source is inadequate and practically meaningless. In the bibliography of manuscripts used the location of the following is not given: *Testimonio . . . sobre la reduccion de indios . . . Texas. Año 1749-1750*; Nicolás de Lafora, *Relacion del viaje . . .*; Rosa y Figueroa, *Promptuario general . . .*; *Expedicion de Mezieres, Años 1778-1779*; and José Puelles, *Mapa geográfico . . .* 1807. But these are trivial matters in comparison with the careful scholarship evident throughout the two volumes and do not detract from the intrinsic excellence of the work as a whole. Laymen as well as scholars will welcome this worthy addition to the historiography of Texas and the Southwest.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

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*Brazil: A Study in Economic Types.* By J. F. NORMANO. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. 254.

As yet, the literature on economic Brazil is not abundant. This is probably owing in part to the lack, up to recent years, of research institutions in that country. The men who, in Brazil, have devoted themselves to the study of economic matters have been, as a rule, self-taught and have had to struggle with enormous handicaps to obtain the source materials needed. As to the foreign economists who have attempted to write on Brazil, their difficulties have been, naturally, still greater, since the monographs on which to base a work of synthesis, are few. Under the circumstances, any attempt to open a path through the jungle of unclassified materials, is to be received with high praise and deep gratitude.

The author of the book here reviewed, formerly of the Harvard Bureau for Economic Research in Latin America, has already to his credit a number of studies on South America. Among them, his book



on *The Struggle for South America* (Boston, 1931) should be mentioned. The present work is, as the author himself declares, a study "of the typical in Brazilian economic history", that is, an attempt to give a history not of fact, but of types and tendencies. The first six chapters are devoted to a retrospective study of economic and financial Brazil, as a background for the understanding of present conditions. In those chapters the author looks at economic Brazil from different points of view: the moving frontier, change in the leading products, leading economic types, influence of world economic theories, public finance, and currency and banking. Naturally, there is a certain amount of repetition inherent to this system of treatment. One may also question some of the statements and conclusions of the author. Thus, for instance, one can hardly agree with the statement that the *bandeirantes* strove to gain La Plata (p. 2); the attempt to make the River Plate the southern boundary of Brazil is not to be attributed to the *bandeirantes*, but to the Portuguese government which for strategic as well as economic and political reasons, ordered in 1679 the building of a settlement and fortress on the left bank of the River Plate. This settlement, started in the following year under the name of Colonia do Sacramento, became a smuggling center and a bone of contention between Portugal and Spain for many years thereafter. As to the conquest of French Guiana by Portuguese troops in 1809, it can scarcely be attributed to a desire for more land; it was rather a move to force the French government to recognize the Oyapok as a boundary between Brazil and French Guiana. The French colony was never incorporated in Brazil during the eight years of its occupancy by the Portuguese.

Likewise, the statement of the author (p. 7) that São Paulo was attached to Minas Geraes, seems somewhat equivocal; the fact is that most of the territory of present-day Minas Geraes belonged to the captaincy of São Paulo from 1709 to 1720, when Minas Geraes became a separate administrative unit.

The author is perhaps carried away by his sense of symmetry when he attempts to find in the south a *pendant* for the São Francisco in the north. He declares that the Paraná designates the second period of Brazilian civilization, corresponding to the supremacy of coffee. This can hardly be substantiated, since the Paraná has not played a very important rôle in the economic development of the coffee producing states. But the remark that Brazil consists of a metropolis and colo-

nies within its own political boundaries and that these ties will mitigate the disintegrating forces in Brazilian history represented by localism and regionalism, is a very shrewd one, and explains to a great extent the historical development of the country.

The spectacular and sudden change in the leading products of Brazil is an important characteristic of the economic life of that country as the author points out. Sugar, cacao, gold, tobacco, cotton, rubber, coffee have at one time or another ruled in the economic realm of Brazil, to be successively dethroned. But the statement that diamonds were discovered in Minas Geraes during the second half of the seventeenth century (p. 21) is not, it seems, well founded. According to authorities on the matter, diamonds were first discovered in Brazil in 1723 and only six years later recognized as such.

Among the complex forms of economic life of Brazil, the author has chosen three leading types: the *bandeirante*, the *fazendeiro*, and the *paulista*, corresponding respectively to the pioneer explorer of the back country, the farmer, and the modern, economically aggressive city dweller. This may be a good classification but can be applied substantially to any other country. As to the remarks of the author concerning the distinctions between *bandeiras* and *entradas*, one can not entirely agree with the theory of the author. In a certain sense, all *bandeiras* were *entradas*, that is, expeditions toward the interior and the terms are often used as synonyms. It is a fact, however, that the term *bandeiras* is applied to the *entradas* in which a large number of people took part, under a more strict military discipline. It is hard to establish any other distinction between the two terms. It would be interesting to know what the author means when he says that *entradas* were of local origin (p. 60) and why he disagrees with Oliveira Vianna as to the latter's classification of *bandeiras* into warriors and colonists. Undoubtedly the two types existed quite distinctly. The slave hunting *bandeira* was necessarily a warrior; the prospective *bandeira* and the *bandeira* searching for better lands to settle (for such ones as there were) did not necessarily fight the Indian or the Spaniard unless attacked or molested by them.

The author devotes one chapter to the study of the repercussion of world economic theories in Brazil and two others to the study of public finances, currency, and banking, revealing a most unusual and intimate knowledge of a vast subject. His remark that the source of many national economic troubles of Brazil lies in the dissociation of

economy and finance, and in the discrepancy of the economic and political Brazil, is very good. Some conditions mentioned by the author do not longer exist or are being corrected. Thus, for instance, the lack of coördination in statistical data for the whole country was corrected by the creation in 1933 of a committee in the ministry of foreign affairs to collect and publish all such data. This committee has published already at least three excellent volumes full of reliable data concerning the whole country. The economic unification of the country has also been undertaken under provision of the new Federal Constitution of 1934, which abolished all inter-municipal and inter-state taxation (Title I, Chap. I, Art. 17, IX). There is also a new law on usury, which limits interest rates to be charged by money lenders.

In short, the book is stimulating, comprehensive, and of great value to the student of Brazil. Its conclusions are substantiated by many tables. There is a most complete bibliography appended, although one regrets that the author has not included the work, most surely known to him, of Joaquim Felício dos Santos, *Memórias do Districto diamantino da Comarca de Serro Frio, Provincia de Minas Geraes*, published in 1866 in book form, and one of the most interesting early works on the economic development of that important region of Brazil.

RAUL D'EÇA.

Washington, D. C.

*Henri Christophe dans l'Histoire d'Haiti.* By VERGNIAUD LACONTE. (Paris: Editions Berger Levrault, 1931. Pp. 453.)

This is a serious historical work that has been all too little known since the date of publication among those who are interested in things Haitian. The romance that has suddenly enveloped the personality of Henri Christophe has cast into partial oblivion the only really thorough study of his career and character that has been published.

The Christophe literature is fairly large, particularly in contemporary accounts that sketch the general nature of his régime. Modern historiography has done remarkably little to disentangle the confusion that surrounds a large portion of the earlier history of Haiti and the events that followed the independence of 1804. Christophe, the iron king whose grip held northern Haiti in law, order, and prosperity for over a dozen years has become legend, almost mythology. Innumerable tales have sprung up to obscure the dispassionate story of this Negro king who once ruled at Cap Henri.

M. Leconte, a lawyer of Cap Haitien, in the region where Christophe is still held in reverence and from which one sets out for Milot and the great monument called *La Citadelle*, has written a voluminous study, in which he traces in detail the course of Christophe's life, his military activities during the war for independence, and his monarchical régime after the disappearance of Dessalines.

Christophe was born in the West Indies, on the tiny island of Granada, in the year 1767. There have been those who have seen in Christophe a slave risen to be king. Every evidence points to his condition of freeman, the son in turn of free Negroes. His participation at an early age in the American Revolution and his return to Cap Français to begin an active military career are facts that stand out with clarity but with an almost total absence of detail. He was charged by the colonial government with important posts during the initial years of the revolt, in 1791 and 1792.

From the time that the first collective spirit of revolt was developing, the story of Christophe blends so completely with that of Toussaint Louverture that no distinction can be made. This is an epoch in which it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish the contribution of Christophe, or Toussaint, and of Dessalines, so thoroughly are they confused in the *melée* that swept Saint Domingue.

M. Leconte dwells on the background and antecedents of Toussaint, and the remarkable rôle that he played in the events that extend from 1792 to 1802. Christophe was ever active, engaged in every hostility that occurred, involved in the strife between Toussaint and Rigaud, and finally named commandant of the town of Cap Français on the very eve of the struggle for separation. It was Christophe who was destined to receive General Leclerc, refusing all capitulation and leaving to the French a city in ruins.

Then came the pacification. Toussaint laid down his arms to go into retirement. The war had apparently ended to leave Saint Domingue in peace. Toussaint was betrayed and soon thereafter there took place the celebrated conversation of Dessalines and Petion at Plaisance that was to light the fires of war once again throughout Haiti. From that moment on Christophe figures as one of the first personalities among the Negro independentists. The empire came and went, a chimera of two years duration. Christophe was proclaimed in the north and failing to unite all Haiti turned to the task of creating a nation out of the ruins that remained.



M. Leconte now enters upon the vital period of the story of Christophe, the organization and the structure of the Royaume d'Haiti. Chapter XIV treats of the royal constitution and the edicts of the king. The discussion is carried out in abundant detail of the royal household, the orders of nobility, and the coronation ceremonies. Such important and little known aspects of the Christophe régime as the codification of laws, the *Code Henri* are dealt with, as well as the functioning of the legal system in general, the economic order, the status of the clergy, and the progress of public instruction. The always interesting question of the construction of the Citadelle La Ferrière and the technique employed to make possible this massive edifice, is treated amply in Chapter XVI including even the minute details of architecture and method.

This comprehensive work closes with the death of Christophe, with the insurrection at Saint Marc and the infirmity that ended the prestige and brilliance of the Haitian monarch. The volume is illustrated with seventeen plates. The body of the text includes a large number of documents and source materials. It is to be regretted that there is no adequate and perhaps critical bibliography to guide further investigation in the period that extends from the French Revolution to the unity of the island under Boyer in 1820.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

*The Spanish Main, Focus of Envy, 1492-1700.* By PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS. (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1935. Pp. xii, 278. \$3.00.)

The term "Spanish Main" or "Tierra Firme" as originally conceived, included the north coast of South America and adjacent waters. In this volume, however, Mr. Means expands the term to include the Caribbean area and the ring of islands encircling it. And perhaps this inclusion is justified, for the whole region was a unit with the Spanish mainland, and it was all viewed with equal greed and envy by the European governments and peoples. This region was the very heart, or perhaps it might be more fittingly called the Achilles heel, of the Spanish Empire which Europeans tried with partial success to seize in order to weaken and destroy the Spanish grip on the remainder of America.

One's first thought in examining this book is: How does it differ

from *The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493-1688* (A. and C. Black, Ltd., London, 1933) by Arthur Percival Newton? The answer is that Mr. Means's volume is written largely from the Spanish point of view, while Dr. Newton's is chiefly from the point of view of the enemies of Spain, and he stresses island settlement more and continental settlement less than Mr. Means. Almost the same identical ground is covered by both volumes and both are scholarly treatments, although Mr. Means has given an extensive bibliography while Dr. Newton has none.

Beginning with America on October 10, 1492, Mr. Means stresses Spanish conquests and settlements in the Caribbean, impelled by a desire to find another Mexico on the mainland to the southward. He summarizes the early English and French intrusions into the region, the coming of the buccaneers and gentleman adventurers, the search for El Dorado, the later English, French, and Dutch colonial ventures in the Caribbean area, and the significance of the Panama Isthmus in the general movement on the part of Europeans to wrest from Spain what they believed to be, in the words of Dr. Newton, "the greatest treasure-house in the world". Chapter X, the last, is an essay in retrospect. An excellent bibliography and a good index complete the work.

No student of the expansion of Europe or of American history in the broad sense should fail to read this book. The style is good, the treatment is logical, the approach is historical, the perspective is philosophical, and the result is delightful.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

*Historical Bibliographies. A Systematic and Annotated Guide.* By EDITH M. COULTER and MELANIE GARSTENFELD. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935. Pp. xii, 206. \$2.50.)

In discussing such a work as this, the reviewer can do no better than to quote the compilers' aims (pp. IX-X):

It is the purpose of the present work to bring together in convenient form the important retrospective and current bibliographies of history, and those general bibliographical manuals which are deemed essential as a basis in bibliographical investigation. Bibliographies of closely related fields have been included only when they were of appreciable value and extent, to the exclusion of bibliographies of smaller political units, which will be found recorded in the more comprehensive works. This guide is limited to subject lists and catalogues of printed

material, and does not include indexes to archives, manuscripts, and government documents. In the absence of adequate historical bibliographies, classified or indexed lists of books published in a country and records of the early presses have been suggested in their place. For current bibliography, periodicals have been recommended which offer classified lists of recent historical publications that in some degree supplement the retrospective guides.

In the selection of titles the requirements of the American student have been kept in mind. Emphasis has been placed on fields of historical investigation pursued in American universities. For this reason a disproportionate number of items relating to the United States and to other countries of America has been included.

Since the organization of a bibliographical guide is so important, much care has been taken by the compilers to present a logical arrangement of materials. But organization frequently is a matter of opinion and many persons may perhaps not be satisfied with the results. An Introduction of twenty-eight items cites introductory manuals; guides and reference books; guides to bibliographies; current bibliographies, periodical lists, and indexes; lists of government documents; and newspaper lists. The main part of the volume lists historical bibliographies, classified under General, Ancient World, Europe, Voyages and Travels (including Colonial Possessions of European Nations), Asia, Africa, Oceanica, and America. Under the heading Europe, works are classed under the titles Medieval Europe, Modern Europe, Religious History, and the names of each of the European countries. The items under Asia, Africa, and Oceanica are classified by countries. The items under America are classified under the topics General, Aborigines, Discovery and Exploration, and the names of each of the countries, including the individual states of the United States.

Concerning each item the compilers state (p. X) :

A brief annotation follows each title, descriptive of the scope and usability of the work, but with no attempt at detailed criticism. Inclusion, however, indicates that the compilers considered the work of value from some point of view; all items, with very few exceptions, have been examined. References to critical reviews have been cited. Use has been made of the bibliographical data given on the Library of Congress' printed catalogue cards. Only such information concerning imprint and collation as is considered necessary for the identification of a title has been given.

Viewing the work as a whole, the reviewer feels that certain classifications are out of place, that the arrangement of some sections is perhaps illogical, that items should be arranged alphabetically, and that in the Hispanic American section numerous omissions exist. For

example, in the section on Voyages, Travels, and Colonial Possessions, no references are given on the Portuguese and Spanish colonial empires. In the same section, under French colonial possessions one reference is cited while under America, West Indies, two items are listed on the French West Indies. Under the general title of Hispanic America (p. 163), a single syllabus on Hispanic America has been listed, whereas other syllabi and even textbooks might be cited with greater profit. In the same section (p. 164), only one bibliography of the Pan American Union has been cited, although more than a dozen of equal or greater importance might have been listed. On the same page, a single map bibliography has been listed which sells for seventy-five dollars. Other map bibliographies exist which are more accessible to the average student. Among important omissions are: Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispano-americano* (7 vols., Barcelona, 1923-1927); Obadiah Rich, *Bibliotheca americana nova* (2 vols., London, 1835-1846), and his earlier supplementary volume (London, 1832); Carlos Manuel Trelles y Govín, *Ensayo de bibliografía cubana en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (2 vols., Matanzas, 1907-1908); Diego Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca lusitana histórica, crítica é cronológica* (4 vols., Lisbon, 1741-1759); Andrés Gonzales Barcia Carballido y Zúñiga, *Historiadores primitivos de las Indias occidentales* (3 vols., Madrid, 1749); José Mariana Beristáin y Sousa, *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional* (3 vols., Santiago, Chile, 1816-1821); Luís Montt, *Bibliografía chilena* (3 vols., Santiago, Chile, 1904-1921); and others.

In citing these references, however, the reviewer does not wish to be too critical, for no bibliography is ever complete. Judging from the list of bibliographies dealing with America in the broad sense, this work appears most admirable. As a guide it will be found indispensable, especially to graduate students. The index is excellent and might well be used as a model for all indexes to such guides.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

*Prontuario Histórico de Puerto Rico.* By TOMÁS BLANCO. (Madrid: Imprenta de Juan Pueyo, [1935]. Pp. 158.)

This little volume from the pen of a brilliant young Puerto Rican physician, resident in Madrid, fills a very positive need in the way of a short and comprehensive guide to the historical evolution of the



island. It is written with absolute freedom, with no cause to plead and no interest to serve, giving us a critical dispassionate and orderly summary of the main course of Puerto Rican development. The purpose in writing this modest contribution, as Dr. Blanco observes in his preliminary notes, is to explain in a synthetic form the story of the people of Puerto Rico. There is, therefore, no effort at striking originality, nor new light on obscure phases of insular history. The formation of the nationality serves as the central thread in the course of the book, placing the emphasis where it should be, on the factors that enter into the make-up of the people, their economics, politics, and social development. So much of Puerto Rican history is related as an endless series of piratical attacks, of Dutch invasions and of English incursions, that it is heartening to find a work of this character that relegates the martial spirit to its proper secondary place.

The author admits indebtedness for the historical chronology to that prince of Puerto Rican historians, Don Salvador Brau. Since the whole discussion is to lead chronologically to the present confusion that characterizes island affairs, Dr. Blanco notes his recognition of the fact that the recent work of Dr. Antonio Pedreira of the University of Puerto Rico, *Insularismo* has, in part, inspired the present study. It can be well said that the book of Dr. Blanco completes the earlier one of Pedreira. The division followed in the text under discussion is by centuries with appropriate conclusions as to the dominant characteristics of each. The fifteenth century is quite properly called pre-history, for aside from the actual discovery little of lasting worth was accomplished. The following hundred years consolidated Spanish rule and created Puerto Rico as the outpost of the ever expanding Spanish empire. The culmination may be said to be the seventeenth century, called by Dr. Blanco the *antemural del imperio*. With a rapid analysis of the factors of decline in Spain and of Spanish prestige, the author enters upon the eighteenth century, with emphasis on such matters as population, economics, and the varying fortunes of Puerto Rico under the policy of negligence that Spain followed. The nineteenth is, of course, the epoch of transition and of change. From the Constitution of Cádiz down through the years to the Autonomy Charter of 1897, Puerto Rico suffered numerous vicissitudes and profound changes. The island experienced a remarkable political development that was to terminate in one of the most brilliant group of political leaders and thinkers that the country has produced. All of

this takes us to the Spanish-American war, the real transition in sovereignty as well as politics. The judgment passed on this vital aspect of Puerto Rican life is sincere, courageous, and honest. Dr. Blanco attempts no dogmatic solutions, nor does he suggest passing and fanciful remedies. There is, certainly, on every page, an honest effort to estimate the effects of American occupation and rule, and no student of American domination in the West Indies can overlook the evils to which this author calls attention. He points out that "politically we have served the ruling nation as a laboratory victim, where experiments in colonialism might be carried out in life". The main premises already established by B. W. Diffie in his *Puerto Rico: A Broken Pledge* are reiterated, especially the evils attendant upon colonialism, absenteeism, and the sugar monopoly. The indifference of the United States to the great colonial responsibilities placed upon the nation after the Conference of Paris are emphasized as well as the negligence and futility of distant rule that have led inevitably to the present confusion and uncertainty.

Not the least interesting section of this book is the final chapter devoted to reflections of a more personal nature. Here we find the reaction of a keen-minded Puerto Rican intellectual to the turgid and problematic situation of the island. Dr. Blanco finds Puerto Rico in a vicious circle, with an absolute dependence on the changing fortunes at Washington. "Benevolent concern one day, charity tomorrow" is the phrase most suited to characterize this dreary picture. Self determination and self dependence would in part remedy this condition, with the accompanying tenacity of purpose and firm faith in one's own virtues so necessary to redemption. The book terminates with the suggestion of a dilemma:

either for Puerto Rico to take into its own hands, with firmness and serenity, its own destiny, or submit forever, like mental cripples to a slow agony, prolonged by palliatives, until the limit of physical misery and moral prostration is reached or until the complete transformation of the island community into parias or a conglomerate of coolies.

Then, concludes Dr. Blanco, "sólo se salvarán los muertos".

There is a brief bibliography of the essential works. The author calls it the indispensable minimum that the student of Puerto Rico affairs must know. Nothing exhaustive is attempted. This book is valuable, useful, and opportune. It deserves to be widely known.

University of Puerto Rico.

RICHARD PATTEE.

*Episodios históricos de Bolivia.* By LUIS S. CRESPO. (La Paz, Bolivia: 1935. Vol. I. Pp. 335.)

This is the first of the four volumes that are to constitute the complete *Episodios Históricos de Bolivia* from the pen of the president of the geographic society of La Paz and member of the national Academy of History, Luis S. Crespo. The initial volume bears the sub-title of *Conquista y Colonización* and will outline the main events of the history of Upper Perú until the outbreak of the wars of independence. The book at hand is somewhat bulky and carries an abundance of illustrations.

There is no doubt that a modern history of Bolivia is badly needed. Since the publication of Ordóñez and Crespo, *Bosquejo de la Historia de Bolivia* and Argüedas, *Historia General de Bolivia*, there has been little in the way of an effort toward synthesis in Bolivian historical writing. Numerous monographs, of course, have been written, but we know of no effort to make known the chronology of Bolivian history in a convenient, continuous form. This labor is undertaken by Dr. Crespo, who covers the long colonial period in the first volume. Naturally, the colonial history of Bolivia is nothing but a prolongation of that of Perú, and so a good portion of the volume follows the course of events in Perú, from the time of Pizarro, Almagro, Gasca, and the rest down through to the consolidation of the Spanish viceregal authority. The primary interest for the student of Bolivian affairs lies in the emphasis given to events beyond the Andes, in the remote region of Alto Perú, so little mentioned or considered in contrast with the more glamorous history of Lima and Cuzco.

The book is organized in such a way, under separate sub-heads, that consultation is fairly easy. There are special sections devoted to the work of exploration in Upper Perú, to the foundations of La Paz, Potosí, Oruro, and Cochabamba, and to the inconceivably difficult labor of penetration of the isolated regions to the east of the Andean chain. There is a confusion of expeditions and counter-expeditions, from Nuflo de Chávez who explored the Chiquitos and Mojos country prior to the middle of the sixteenth century, to the valiant Jesuits and Franciscans who completed the work of reduction. The discussion of the organization of the audiencia of Charcas is well done, with an analysis of its limits, frontiers, and authority. The reader will note at once the importance of these points of colonial territorial

organization in view of the recent Chaco dispute that brought to light innumerable documents concerning the true extent of the ancient audiencia. There are numerous references to a most interesting point of Bolivian colonial history, namely, the development of intellectual life. The fact that the University of Chuquisaca, or San Francisco Xavier was a nucleus of culture and a center of intellectual ferment is well known, but the details of its foundation, expansion, and achievement make a most entertaining chronicle of this remarkable institution in the center that is today Sucre. The observations of Dr. Crespo fit in with the recent monograph of Dr. Enrique Finot, who discusses the cultural evolution of Alto Perú with particular attention to literary production, architecture, and art.

A good bit of anthropology is mixed with the historical account, owing quite naturally to the fact that the multiplicity of races and tribes in Bolivia has ever constituted its peculiar characteristic. The history, as recounted by Crespo, of necessity is something of a *mélange*, for colonial Bolivia was something of a pageant of conquistadores, royal functionaries, expeditions, explorations, rich mines, Indian risings, and recurring attention and negligence on the part of the home government. One will find in the study of this long period the key to many of the situations of modern Bolivian history. If read in connection with *Pueblo Enfermo*, the genesis of many of Bolivia's present evils will be made clear. Above all, there is the salient fact that eastern Bolivia, which was never conquered, except as the Society of Jesus set up their numerous missions, fell back into relative stagnation and abandonment after their departure, and the uncertainty during colonial times of the character and extent of this area gives us the clearest understanding of how impossible it has been for the Bolivian nation to define with exactness the limits of its frontiers and remote boundaries.

It is to be hoped that the three volumes promised will materialize. They will make, on the whole, a good survey of Bolivia from the origins down through to the Chaco war. Dr. Crespo will devote, as he announces in his preface, much attention to the story of the nation from Independence to the war with Chile, and accepting that event as a dividing line, to the recent Chaco controversy. The publication of this work is an encouraging sign in Bolivian historiography.

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RICHARD PATTEEL



*Gesta Bolivariana*. By GABRIEL PORRAS TROCONIS. (Caracas: Editorial Elite, 1935. Pp. 295.)

Merely another Bolívar book may be the impression in glancing at the title of this latest contribution on the life and deeds of the Libertador. It is, of course, another Bolívar book and one feels perhaps that we have reached a saturation point in Bolívar bibliography beyond which it is dangerous to go, without simply rehashing what has been done before, and perhaps better. This initial reaction should not, however, prejudice the reader against this new volume from the facile pen of Dr. Gabriel Porras Troconis, the distinguished president of the Academia de la Historia de Cartagena de Indias, an indefatigable laborer in the Hispanic American historical vineyard.

Dr. Porras Troconis has written what is undoubtedly a stimulating volume, with numerous and meaningful sidelights on aspects of the life and career of Bolívar, often left out or reduced to meager proportions in other biographies. There is, happily enough, much less attention denoted to the *histoire bataille* than one is led to expect in writings on Bolívar. The chapter heads will give an excellent impression of the materials treated. There is an introductory chapter on the political thought of the Liberator. In this day, when governments are collapsing in many of the states of Hispanic America, and violent change has swept across some of the states that grew out of Bolívar's dream, it is instructive to review succinctly and compactly the essence of the political thought that guided the great Venezuelan. Dr. Porras does it excellently, and not the least of the virtues that distinguish this attractively printed book, is the melodious and often brilliant style that denotes the man of letters combined with the investigator.

There follow chapters devoted to the participation of Bolívar in the imprisonment of Francisco Miranda; the manifesto of Cartagena; the Jamaica letter; the Angostura decrees; and then the indispensable military element, with reflexions on the engagements of Boyacá, Bomboná, and Junín. As indicated above, Dr. Porras deals with a number of phases of Bolívar's character and attitude that receive scant attention in some of the standard biographies. There is the matter of the kingship and the effort to crown the Liberator as sovereign of Greater Colombia. A chapter of the *Gesta Bolivariana* considers the participation of Santander in this projected coronation

of Simón Bolívar. Elsewhere, the dream that Bolívar cherished of extending the liberating process to the West Indies is analyzed. This aspect has been rather exhaustively examined in recent years by Dr. Emeterio Santovenia of La Habana, in his *Bolívar y las Antillas hispanas* in which, as might be expected, the Cuban aspirations of the Venezuelan generals are looked into critically and thoroughly. Still, Dr. Porras adds a synthesis of the project for the emancipation of Cuba and the difficulties and doubts attendant upon its realization. There is a further chapter dedicated to the study of the religious ideas of Bolívar, a matter that has aroused and continues to arouse a considerable amount of polemic.

The prologue of *Gesta Bolivariana* was written by Dr. José Santiago Rodríguez, president of the Academy of History of Venezuela. He characterizes the chronological exposition of Porras Troconis, as being "santuarios visitados en romería patriótica". Dr. Rodríguez points out that

la figura del Libertador, que va irguiéndose, cada vez más alta, en nuestro continente, es la del Bolívar republicano; la del fundador de democracias y plasmador de nacionalidades.

Dr. Porras concentrates attention on these permanent, lasting qualities of the Bolivarian epic; the concrete, fundamental concepts that guided the creation of independent America.

It is quite obvious from the reading of this volume that the task Dr. Porras Troconis set himself was in large measure a labor of love. There is a strong Bolivarian devotion running through its pages, but it should not be judged hastily as a mere series of heroic exultations. There is scholarship and care on every page. The reputation of its author is a guarantee of seriousness, and while the patriotic fervor runs strongly, there is no degeneration into hero worshiping platitudes. Dr. Porras has made use of the abundant Bolívar sources. All the biographies are there, together with the splendid collections of primary material that have come out of Venezuela and Colombia in years past—the *Cartas del Libertador*, *Archivo Santander*, and others. The study is personal and one feels that the author is complying with an intimate subjective need for crystalizing and expressing his concept of the personality and rôle of Simón Bolívar. He has done it literarily, but adheres in so doing to the canons of modern historical scholarship.

In passing it should be said that the volume is very well presented. Good taste and few errata are its distinguishing features. The Editorial Elite of Caracas has issued a remarkable number of excellent works in the fields of history, belles letters, sociology, and science. This latest addition from the pen of an outstanding Colombian historian contributes to the maintenance of the high standard set by this publishing enterprise.

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*Land of Women.* By KATHARINA VON DOMBROWSKI. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1935. Pp. 416. \$2.50.)

This Austrian authoress has given us in her own English translation of the German text a most remarkable novel, in a brilliant, moving style that is vivid, tense, and dramatic. It deals with the land of women, with Paraguay where women have always ruled and where their matriarchal privileges have always been respected. It is the story not only of the Paraguay of the glamorous and bloody epoch of Francisco Solano López, but the eternal Paraguay of the Society of Jesus, of the Supremo Francia and finally of the *Carai Guazu*, the heroic victim of the war of the Triple Alliance. López inherited the scepter over a submissive people, a race that was heroic, but was long trained in obedience and humility. His task was superimposed on that of the enigmatic Francia, after the brief interval when his father, Carlos Antonio, had laid the basis of the new López dynasty. This colorful narrative contains three parts, each depicting an era of Paraguayan history. There is the first, called the "Shadow of Francia"; the second, that bears the name of Madame Lynch; and the third, dedicated to Solano López, entitled, "The Monster". Three personalities intertwined in a peculiar and significant manner that are symbolic of the Paraguay that perished at the Aquidaban.

The historical background is sound. There is a strong romantic element, since the work pretends merely to recreate an epoch and evoke a tragedy. The trappings of scholarship are absent, but the main delineations are accurate and beautifully executed. The spirit of the time has been gorgeously captured in the pages of this historical novel. The book is lusty reading, smooth, exhilarating, and absorbing.

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*Images of Earth: Guatemala.* By AGNES ROTHERY. (New York: The Viking Press, 1934. Pp. 206. Illus. \$3.00.)

Miss Rothery has seen three images in Guatemala: the "Images of the Tierra Caliente", the "Images of the Tierra Templada", and the "Images of the Tierra Fría". And the reader, besides seeing these same images through descriptive prose may obtain visual images from a number of beautiful illustrations as recorded by the camera. The volume is thus pleasing to the eye and interesting to read.

The book itself is a travel account written with an easy fictional style which makes the truth often seem strange. Little occurrences, which many a visitor would not see or think interesting in themselves, are recorded here with care and concern. Bits of everyday Guatemalan life and experiences are told in an earnest and pleasing manner. Certainly no Guatemalan can take offense at such mild comments as the author makes. But for all of its charm, this book lacks the verve which many readers of travel accounts desire. Undoubtedly, it is no better and no worse than the average travel story, for it proves that human nature is the same the world over and that pigs will be pigs even in Guatemala!

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.



## NOTES AND COMMENT

### MINUTES OF THE CONFERENCE ON HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIA- TION, HELD IN CHATTANOOGA, DECEMBER 27, 1935

The program took place at the Read House after the annual luncheon of the group of Hispanic American historians. Professor Pierson, the chairman, called the meeting to order. He first announced the meeting of the group interested in Hispanic American History and research to be held immediately after the luncheon.

After delivering a short introduction on the study of Hispanic American History for its cultural value, Professor Pierson introduced the speaker of the day, Dr. John Tate Lanning, who spoke on the "Research Possibilities in the Cultural History of Colonial Spanish America". Dr. Lanning interestingly outlined the very rich cultural background of Hispanic American History and showed the need of studying the great Hispanic American writers. He said that it is just as necessary for Americans to be familiar with Spanish American scholasticism as with New England puritanism and that as great changes occurred in Spanish American culture as those which took place in Europe during the renaissance. He mentioned the chief depositories of manuscripts and the great mass of material still practically untouched awaiting the scholar's pen; and made some valuable suggestions concerning future research on certain phases of Hispanic American History, where little or nothing has yet been done, for instance, medical history and the history of Spanish American universities and colleges.

After a short recess to enable those who wished to attend other meetings, the chairman called together those who wished to discuss business matters connected with the conference.

Dr. Alfred Hasbrouck, chairman of the program committee, made a statement relative to the finances of the conference.

It was moved and seconded that the organization ask the American Historical Association for the fifty dollars promised several years ago to the Hispanic American History group, but which had never been

received, to help meet the expenses of the conference. On further motion, duly seconded, it was resolved that the chairman designate a person to approach the American Historical Association on the subject. The chairman, accordingly, designated Dr. Rippey for this duty. A collection of \$5.40 was taken to defray secretarial expenses.

On motion, duly seconded, concerning the matter of recognition of the conference by the American Historical Association, it was resolved that the report of the secretary of the conference should be included in the annual report of the American Historical Association.

The nominating committee for the conference of 1936, reported the following slate, all the nominees being by acclamation: secretary-treasurer, Lillian E. Fisher; members of the committee to prepare for the next conference, Joseph B. Lockey, chairman, C. H. Haring, and E. T. Parks.

On motion, duly seconded, it was resolved to publish the minutes of each conference in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

There being no further business, the conference was then adjourned.

LILLIAN E. FISHER, *Secretary*.

## ST. DOMINGUE IN ANGLO-SPANISH DIPLOMACY IN 1795

In 1795, Lord Grenville wrote:

The cession of the Spanish Part of St. Domingo [to France] is a stipulation the more extraordinary because it not only militates against the essential interests of Spain, whose Political Existence depends upon the tranquility of her American Possessions, but it is in direct violation of the Treaty of Utrecht, renewed by the last Treaty of Peace between this country and Spain. . . . It is indeed hardly possible to imagine how any man, who has looked at the situation of the West Indies, and at the conduct of the French there, during the war, can imagine the Spanish Possessions in America, or any of them, could be safe for one year, after the French Republic should have been established in the Peaceable Possession of St. Domingo.<sup>1</sup>

Such was Grenville's first comment on the treaty of Basle, signed between Spain and France, July 24, 1795. He said nothing about the recent plan of the English ministry to send Pierre Victor Malouet to St. Domingue in order to promote coöperation between the British and

<sup>1</sup> Grenville to Bute, *most secret*, August 7, 1795. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 72/38.

the Spanish forces in that island. The treaty of Basle, *ipso facto*, meant the collapse of this arrangement which Godoy had just approved. Grenville could well regard as "extraordinary" the cession of the Spanish colony to France.

The project of a Malouet mission to St. Domingue had grown out of the war of the first coalition. No sooner had peace between Great Britain and the French Republic been ruptured in 1793 than a large group of refugee St. Domingue planters in London, Malouet at their head, placed themselves and their property at the disposal of the British government. The latter then undertook to wrest the colony from France. Success proved to be indifferent. A number of coast towns in the west of the island, including Jérémie and Port-au-Prince, fell to the British, but there progress stopped. The little army of occupation was too weak to penetrate into the interior. If England were to attain its purpose of conquering the colony, policy seemed to dictate that it coöperate with its ally Spain which had effected a land invasion from the east.

Now the Spanish colonists in Santo Domingo appear to have wanted nothing more than a chance to enjoy their border conquests. They had long looked with eyes of envy upon their wealthy neighbor in the western part of the island. When the opportunity came to seize prosperous French plantations, including that of Malouet, they seem to have made the most of it, encouraged by Joaquín García, the governor of Santo Domingo. This official went so far as to allow the mulattoes to massacre the French at Fort Dauphin in the summer of 1794.<sup>2</sup> By the end of that year the British ambassador to Madrid was complaining to the Spanish government about García's conduct, and the governor was later recalled.<sup>3</sup> But Spain did not undertake a vigorous offensive against the enemy. Writing from St. Domingue in August, 1794, a pessimist declared:

They [the Spaniards] have troops and ships. What have they done? Nothing. What are they doing? Nothing. What will they do? Nothing.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Upon protesting against this massacre in the name of his fellow colonists, Malouet received a letter of regret from the Spanish *chargé d'affaires* in London which was printed in the London *Times* of November 15, 1794.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Godoy to British Ambassador, December, 1794. P. R. O., F. O., 95/375.

<sup>4</sup> Letter quoted in the London *Oracle*, Nov. 8, 1794. George III. later characterized the efforts of Spain in the war as having been "so very supine". George III. to Lord Grenville, August 3, 1795. *Dropmore Papers*, III. 93.

Undismayed by the situation, Malouet submitted to the duke of Portland a long report on St. Domingue, dated March 12, 1795, in which he pleaded the necessity of a joint Anglo-Spanish campaign against the "brigands".<sup>5</sup> Neither the English nor the Spaniards had accomplished much, he asserted. The former held only coast positions; not having gained control of the plains behind they could not protect the French planters. As for the Spaniards their record was even poorer despite their superiority in numbers and local advantages. Their failure could be attributed, first, to the "odious conduct" of García and, secondly, to the "want of a good understanding between the English and Spanish governments". Owing to the lack of such an understanding, the brigands had found it possible to retire safely to the mountains, whence they were accustomed to descend to the plains to harass the inhabitants and surround the regular troops in their fortresses. Malouet's solution of the problem was simple: the English and the Spanish armies must work together to drive the rebels from the mountains. He recommended a French officer, Marquis de Fontanges, as one competent to draw up such a plan of action, since Fontanges was familiar with the mountain defiles. A combined army of twelve thousand men should accomplish the conquest of the colony within six months.

So much for the military side of the business. Who was to take charge of the diplomatic side, that of bringing the English and the Spanish together in the island? For this delicate mission, Malouet proposed himself. His letter on the subject, written in his own hand and without place or date, was evidently penned at this same time.<sup>6</sup> At the outset he stated that under the old régime it had been customary for the French to accredit one or two commissioners to the Spanish Colonial Government for the purpose of reclaiming runaway negroes and white deserters and to solicit provisions. At the present time, such a commissioner would confer with the Spanish general in regard to operations of attack and defense against the brigands. A candidate for the position should be a Frenchman familiar with the colony at first hand. With these preliminary remarks, Malouet presented his own name. He made no effort to conceal the fact that he was *persona non grata* to the Spaniards, a strange admission from a prospective diplomat! The difficulty, he explained, was simply his service with

<sup>5</sup> P. R. O., War Office, 1/61, ff. 123-130.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 181-184; English translation, ff. 187-190.



the English. In consequence of this service, his plantation, located on the Spanish border near Fort Dauphin, had been completely destroyed after having served for six months as García's headquarters. García carried off the remainder of the negroes upon learning that their owner had signed the capitulation of Jérémie. As things stood, Malouet was a Spanish subject without property and out of favor at the Spanish Court because he had acted in the name of the French colonists in London. Consequently, before approaching his property he would need a letter of recommendation from the British Government saying he was coming on a mission of peace and conciliation. In closing, Malouet declared that, despite his personal interest, he would not propose such a mission if it were useful only to himself; he wished it to be useful to the English, the French, and the Spaniards as well. As for qualifications, he called attention to his past experience in filling more important positions.

But the British government was obviously not yet ready to hearken to Malouet's proposal. It did not plan to enter immediately upon an aggressive program. The hesitant attitude of the ministry may be seen in Lord Grenville's first letter in mid-April to Lord Bute, who had just been appointed ambassador to Spain.<sup>7</sup> Grenville stated that not enough was yet known about the respective acquisitions of England and Spain in St. Domingue to permit a discussion in regard to boundaries. Not a word did he say about pushing offensive operations in order to complete the conquest; or of sending out Malouet as joint commissioner. But Malouet's proposal was not forgotten. Probably the opening of peace negotiations between Spain and France in May moved the ministry to take action. Sometime toward the end of May, Bute set out for his post. Not long afterward, instructions were drawn up for Malouet. The two copies of this document in the Public Record Office bear only the month (June) and the year (1795). But it was prepared sometime between the first and the twelfth of June, for on the latter date Grenville sent a copy to Bute.<sup>8</sup> In explanation of the government's purpose, Grenville wrote:

The King having been pleased to appoint M. Malouet to be His Majesty's Commissary in St. Domingo, for the purpose of arranging with the Spanish Government the claims of the Inhabitants of such Parts of that Island as are or may

<sup>7</sup> April 13, 1795. P. R. O., F. O., 72/37.

<sup>8</sup> Grenville to Bute, June 12, 1795. *Ibid.*; the other copy is in W. O., 1/61, ff. 191-195.

be in His Majesty's Possession, and of fixing provisional Jurisdiction there between the commanders in chief of the two Powers; I send Your Excellency inclosed Copy of the Instructions which have been given to that officer for the Regulation of his Conduct; and I am to desire that Your Excellency will make such a communication on the subject of them to the Spanish Minister as may tend to promote the object of those Instructions, and the general Purpose of Amity and conciliation, which Your Excellency will satisfy the Court of Spain that His Majesty has truly at heart in all the measures which He has directed His officers to pursue with regard to that Island.

The day before these words were written Bute had reached Aranjuez. In his first interview with Godoy, that minister touched upon the St. Dominique situation apparently without prompting from Bute.<sup>9</sup> Anticipating perhaps an English proposal for closer Anglo-Spanish coöperation in conquering the colony, Godoy declared the situation there to be "ticklish", considering the 500,000 negroes out of control. He thought Spain and England united "would find it a difficult task to bring them under subjection". If Bute disputed this opinion, he did not record the fact.

On July 8, Bute acknowledged from Madrid the receipt of Grenville's dispatch of June 12 inclosing the Malouet instructions.<sup>10</sup> Three days later, he reported another interview with Godoy in which the "Business of St. Domingo" came up despite the ambassador's intention to avoid such discussion at the moment. He had wanted to express his ideas in writing and get a reply from Godoy in the same shape. But Godoy could not be restrained from expressing anew his pessimism in regard to the future of the island. Orders had been sent to the Spanish authorities, he said, to coöperate with the English as much as possible in the future. But, considering the state of the island, the French would probably drive out both the allies. The latter were hampered by too much mutual suspicion. On this score, Godoy left no doubt as to his own feelings. Somehow, he declared, England had always got the better of Spain: for it had always "caned her, witness Honduras, witness Nootka, witness St. Domingo".

Undaunted by this outburst, Bute the next day submitted a letter to Godoy on the proposed Malouet mission. Godoy replied a week later.<sup>11</sup> Again he dwelt on the uncertainty of St. Domingue affairs.

<sup>9</sup> Bute to Grenville, Aranjuez, June 23, 1795. F. O., 72/37.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Godoy to Bute, St. Ildefonso, July 19, 1795; a copy of this reply was inclosed in Bute's letter to Grenville, July 30, 1795. F. O., 72/38.

The king had learned "with much pleasure" that Malouet was to be sent to promote good understanding. Orders would be sent to the Spanish governor in the island to work with this commission and arrange

what ever may be conducive to the continuance of that good friendship and harmony which His Majesty wishes to preserve between the two Courts, as well as to the interest of their respective subjects.

But nothing must be taken for granted as regards the general situation in St. Domingue. There was reason to believe that the possessions of the allies were but momentary, considering the superior strength of the negroes. The time had not come to make definite agreements. Nor was Godoy encouraging in regard to a topic of particular concern to Malouet—the restitution of the negroes and cattle taken from that part of the island under Spanish protection. The king had attempted to restrain his subjects from dealing with this property, but he doubted whether his orders would be carried out.

Such a vague and unsatisfactory letter can be explained largely by Godoy's desire to keep the English quiet pending the outcome of the Franco-Spanish negotiations at Basle.<sup>12</sup> Bute, however, termed it a "civil answer".<sup>13</sup> And in communicating a translation to Grenville several days later he made no comment at all.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps he thought that under the circumstances Godoy could say no more.

In the meantime, Malouet in London was leaving no stone unturned to further his mission. If he met delay or objection from one official he went to another. Some idea of his activities may be gained from a letter written July 20, 1795, by Thomas Carter to John King, both of whom were under secretaries in the ministry.<sup>15</sup> One of the first things to strike the attention in the communication is the fact that Malouet had neither received his instruction (drafted over a month before), nor formal notice of his appointment. In case his instructions were not prepared, Carter wrote, Malouet desired official notice of his appointment from the Duke of Portland, so he could dis-

<sup>12</sup> Godoy was also displaying his customary inertia in dealing with colonial problems. Warned in 1797 of a threatened attack on Louisiana, he merely remarked: "You can't lock up an open field". Arthur Preston Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803* (New York, 1934), p. 180.

<sup>13</sup> Bute to Grenville, Madrid, July 22, 1795. F. O., 72/38.

<sup>14</sup> Bute to Grenville, Madrid, July 30, 1795. *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> W. O., 1/61, ff. 281-283.

cuss matters with Lords Spencer and Grenville. His salary had been fixed at £1000. Of this sum £300 were to be retained in London for the support of his family, and £200 were to be granted to his secretary. He demanded in addition £100 or £150 for a Spanish secretary. There was still some difficulty about outfits for the journey. King had written to the treasury for an outfit of £500 for Malouet, but not for one of £50 for his secretary, as he had agreed. Malouet desired a letter written to Sir Adam Williamson<sup>16</sup> acquainting that official with these arrangements and requiring him to defray the extraordinary expenses connected with the mission. In conclusion, Carter requested King to confirm Malouet's statements and to state his wishes.

King declared in reply that Malouet needed no notice from the Duke of Portland in order to speak to the other ministers.<sup>17</sup> His instructions had already been sent to the officials concerned. It would be proper also to send copies to Lord Spencer and to Mr. Dundas, if this had not already been done. A letter sent to Williamson with the instructions provided for an annual salary of £1000 for Malouet and for extraordinary expenses.<sup>18</sup> But his secretary was to get only ten shillings a day and not £200 a year, as Malouet had said. Malouet's family was to get £300 of the £1000. No Spanish secretary could be allowed. As for the £50 for the regular secretary's outfit, the treasury had refused this amount, "so he must borrow it where he can, nor ought M. Malouet to plague us further about it".

Although in sending Malouet's instructions to Williamson, King had referred to the "important objects" they contained, he was obviously not keen on pressing the departure of Malouet. Everything depended on the outcome of the Franco-Spanish peace negotiations. Soon the results of these negotiations were known. With the cession of Santo Domingo to the French Republic, Malouet's projected mission no longer had a purpose. In a letter to Portland, dated August 3, he himself acknowledged it to be at an end.<sup>19</sup> But he announced at the same time that he was presenting his observations on the new situation in St. Domingue. He now wished England to conquer not

<sup>16</sup> The British Governor of St. Domingue.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 243-244.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 295. The following month a French planter named de Charmilly urged the British ministry to send Malouet to St. Domingue, saying that he was "more proper than any body to bring to a good end the necessary negotiation to obtain the confidence of the Spanish and negroe [*sic*] chiefs". London, September 17, 1795, W. O., 1/63, ff. 395-397.



only the French colony but the entire island. The English ministers, on their part, accepted the necessity of pressing the war in the Caribbean. Writing four days later to Bute, Grenville instructed the ambassador not to complain about the cession of Santo Domingo since it was intended to keep Spain "in suspense with respect to the Intentions of this country".<sup>20</sup> These "intentions" soon took the form of preparations for the sending of a tremendous expedition to the West Indies under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie. But the fortunes of war proved in the end to be no more happy than those of diplomacy in 1795.

CARL LUDWIG LOKKE.

The National Archives,  
Washington, D. C.

#### GARCÍA MORENO'S EFFORTS TO UNITE ECUADOR AND FRANCE

In 1859, Ecuador had been for about a generation an independent republic. From time to time it had experienced the lethargic satisfactions of equatorial peace, but not for long. And not in 1859! Then Ecuador was at war with Peru, with whom it was impossible to agree upon a common boundary, while a revolution engaged the Robles-Urbina administration against an ambitious faction led by Gabriel García Moreno and General Franco. Before the end of the year, having vanquished their adversaries, García Moreno and Franco were fighting each other for ultimate power. Quito and the interior were then controlled by García Moreno's party; Guayaquil, by Franco and his troops.

At this juncture, each leader turned to foreign governments for added strength. Franco, assuming to speak for Ecuador, ceded the disputed area to Peru in a treaty of peace. García Moreno, denouncing the cession as without authority, sought strength in another quarter. He appealed to France.

In three letters written in December, 1859,<sup>1</sup> García Moreno in-

<sup>20</sup> August 7, 1795. F. O., 72/38.

<sup>1</sup> These letters first appeared in print in *El Comercio*, a Peruvian newspaper, in the issue of March 11, 1861. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, E. de Lesseps to Thouvenel, 29 March, 1861 (No. 26)—these archives will

formed M. Trinité, the French chargé d'affaires, that at least half the Ecuadorian people ardently desired to attach their country to France, much as Canada was linked to Great Britain. He also proposed steps to accomplish it.

Without awaiting French assistance, García Moreno's party drove out Franco and achieved mastery over all Ecuador. By the time news of the proposal had come to the government of Napoleon III., García Moreno was firmly established as constitutional president and reactionary dictator of his country.

On June 8, 1861, Trinité's successor, A. M. Fabre, was resting at St. Miguel, en route from Guayaquil to Quito. He had read in the Guayaquil newspapers of a project to attach Ecuador to France, either by complete cession or by subordination as a protectorate, and he knew of García Moreno's letters to Trinité. He proposed, he then wrote to Thouvenel, to explain that his predecessor had considered these suggestions too transitory to report, but he would take no other steps without instructions.<sup>2</sup>

Ten days later, Fabre had presented his credentials to President García Moreno. In some haste and excitement, he reported that a French protectorate had again been proposed.<sup>3</sup> García Moreno, no longer in a precarious position but at the head of an uncontested government, had renewed his offer as a part of a broader plan. South America, and in view of the North American civil war perhaps all America, was, he insisted, moving toward destruction. Only a strong European power could stay this trend by furnishing political stability. For the maintenance and development of civilization in America,

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be referred to hereafter as A. E. They were sent to Lima by their recipient, M. Trinité, preparatory to a departure from the country, which was prevented by sudden death. In Lima, they fell into the hands of the refugee, General Franco, and were printed as the occasion for an appeal to the Ecuadorian Congress by him, dated March 6, 1861. Department of State, Washington, *Ecuador*, 5, F. Hassaurek to Seward, August 28 (No. 4), September 20 (No. 5), 1861. They were never received by the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, and not reported by M. Trinité, although his last report was written under the date March 22, 1860. First official information about them came in the despatch from De Lesseps from Lima, of March 29, 1861. French prestige in Ecuador is indicated by Hassaurek (*Four Years Among Spanish-Americans*, N. Y., 1867, p. 164) as nourished by the common belief in Ecuador that all foreigners were French.

<sup>2</sup> A. E., *Equateur*, 5, A. M. Fabre to Thouvenel, 8 June, 1861.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Fabre to Thouvenel, 19 June, 1861 (received 30 July).

France should make Ecuador the nucleus of a growing French influence.<sup>4</sup>

Without awaiting instructions, Fabre followed his earlier reports by descriptions of the people, products, climate, and resources of Ecuador. He outlined the steps necessary to establish a French protectorate by plebiscite, and warned that England would be the "only serious obstacle".<sup>5</sup> Two thousand French soldiers, some naval vessels, and some rifled cannon for shore-batteries would ensure a peaceful vote, free from internal disorder or external interference. Arguments were also furnished to convince the people of France that their emperor would not thus be profiting from any treason in Ecuador.<sup>6</sup>

England might prove the "only serious obstacle", but in South America, Peru sought to enlist all republican governments in united action to repel alleged European designs on their independence. Spain's re-annexation of Santo Domingo and Ecuador's advances to France in 1859 were cited as evidence of the danger.<sup>7</sup>

The United States government first learned officially of French interest in Ecuador from its new representative in Ecuador, F. Hassaurek, by a despatch written late in August.<sup>8</sup> Peru had renewed the prospect of war with Ecuador by demanding an explanation of the published letters from García Moreno to Trinité, almost two years after they were written, by protesting in harsh terms the failure of García Moreno's government to ratify Franco's treaty of cession, and by objecting to the nominal exercise of Ecuadorian sovereignty over the disputed area. Hassaurek believed that war could be prevented only by the intercession of some great power. He had warned Ecuador's minister of external relations, Dr. Carvajal, that the sympathy of the United States with Ecuador "would naturally undergo a considerable change" if Ecuador intended to permit "European powers [to obtain] additional footholds on this continent".<sup>9</sup>

Carvajal's reply was disturbing. The project of a French protectorate had arisen when Ecuador was desperate; it was "transitory". But should Ecuador again fall into such a situation, it

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Fabre to Thouvenel (pour le Ministre lui-même-confidentielle), 27 June, 1861.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Fabre to Thouvenel, 15 July, 20 July, 1861.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Fabre to Thouvenel, 5 August, 1861.

<sup>7</sup> A. E., *Peru*, 41, E. de Lesseps to Thouvenel, 29 August, 1861 (No. 33).

<sup>8</sup> Dept. of State, *Ecuador*, 5, Hassaurek to Seward, August 28, 1861 (No. 4).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Hassaurek to Seward, September 20, 1861 (No. 5).

would accept protection from whatever quarter it could be obtained, rather than be conquered.<sup>10</sup> In the existing danger, with the secret invitation to France not yet answered, Ecuador obtained from Great Britain an agreement to use its good offices to end the dispute with Peru. British bondholders were interested in the continued collection of customs revenues at Guayaquil,<sup>11</sup> and their government sought to prevent any interruption.

The French government was not hasty. Napoleon III. first received the project for consideration late in September. A special report then described for him the opportunities in Ecuador to develop a naval depot on the island of Puna and to expand trade in the interior, but warned that opposition should be expected from part of the Ecuadorian population and from the governments of Peru, Spain, and England.<sup>12</sup> Pending the emperor's decision, M. Fabre at Quito was instructed to convey the grateful thanks of the emperor to President García Moreno for this opportunity to consider establishing a protectorate over Ecuador, and to send on in greater detail the information necessary to a decision. These data concerned the prospects of resistance and the means to overcome it, and the possibility of bad faith toward France implied in Ecuador's recent invitation to Great Britain to use good offices in its controversy with Peru.

Even before such questions could be received, let alone answered, Fabre was definitely instructed to decline the offer. The emperor, he was to say, could not take steps to influence Ecuador's decision, which must be freely and sincerely taken.

Si M. García Moreno est déterminé à donner suite à son projet, si la nation se prononce dans le même sens, il y aura là un fait considérable dont il se peut alors que l'Empereur ne se refuse point à tenir compte dans la mesure que lui indiqueraient les intérêts de la France."<sup>13</sup>

At the same time, the French representative at Lima was advised to maintain complete reserve on the subject of a French protectorate over Ecuador, save that he was to discourage the use of force by Peru

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*. See also, Layard Papers (British Museum, accession 38987) memo. by Lord John Russell on War between Ecuador and Peru, November, 1861.

<sup>12</sup> A. E., *Equateur*, 5, undated report to the Emperor by Thouvenel and instructions, Thouvenel to Fabre, 13 September, 30 September, 1861.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Thouvenel to Fabre, 10 October, 1861.



against Ecuador. The French naval forces were to prevent Peru from blockading Guayaquil.<sup>14</sup> In this, they would be acting to the same end as the British.<sup>15</sup> The United States government, on the contrary, was not inclined to offer even mediation.<sup>16</sup>

Fabre privately complained to Thouvenel of the French government's decision. Unless a welcome by France to a plebiscite deciding in favor of French protection could be assured in advance, García Moreno would be courting disaster. Could not such assurance be given?

The French fleet on the west Pacific coast of South America was not sufficient to combat any strong adversary.<sup>17</sup> Though the probability of Peruvian attack on Ecuador faded early in 1862, there remained the certainty that within Ecuador, opposition to French protection would come from García Moreno's stronger opponents,<sup>18</sup> while British interests rendered a passive attitude by the British government most unlikely.

Another and more important element in the situation existed on February 28, 1862, when Thouvenel repeated the refusal of the emperor's government to commit itself in advance to accept an Ecuadorian invitation, even though supported by popular vote. The French expedition into Mexico was then assuming a form described as an effort to facilitate the development, on the Pacific coast, of a power like that of Brazil on the Atlantic. Ecuador was thus, practically speaking, superseded as a field for risking French forces or French prestige in any project to save American civilization.

A third offer to the French government was made by Sr. Antonio Flores, after being received by Napoleon III. as minister resident from Ecuador on March 15, 1862.<sup>19</sup> France was to receive outright cession of the Galapagos Islands and some wild lands on the banks of the Amazon River, and, by suggested steps, to exercise a protectorate over Ecuador. Ecuador would itself seek to establish a monarchy, as *Le Royaume-Uni des Andes*, embracing Peru and other countries desiring

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Thouvenel to E. de Lesseps, 15 October, 1861 (No. 11).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Thouvenel to E. de Lesseps, 29 November, 1861 (No. 12).

<sup>16</sup> Dept. of State, *Ecuador*, Instructions, I, Seward to Hassaurek, November 20, 1861 (No. 6).

<sup>17</sup> A. E., *Peru*, 41, Report by the commandant, E. Larrien, 3 December, 1861.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, *Equateur*, 5, Fabre to Quito, 4 January, 1862.

<sup>19</sup> *Le Pays*, 18 March, 1862.

to benefit from order and peace.<sup>20</sup> This project naturally met with no more favor than the first.

Another attempt to interest France in acquiring Ecuadorian territory came in an offer to exchange the Galapagos Islands for French military material and training.<sup>21</sup> This was promptly declared inopportune and unacceptable.<sup>22</sup>

The French interest in Ecuador remained great. When General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, head of the New Granada Government in 1862, adopted the old title of "President of the United States of Colombia", and endeavored to bring Ecuador and Venezuela back into the former federation, French objections to this plan for Ecuador were officially voiced.<sup>23</sup> This protest aroused apprehension of French designs only partly quieted by a disavowal prompted by Secretary Seward's inquiry.<sup>24</sup>

Alarm over French designs on Ecuador was only gradually abated. Though Ecuador declared to Peru in March, 1863, that there had never been any "pact" for the "incorporation of Ecuador into a foreign power", suspicions were not to be brushed aside, especially during the French occupancy of Mexico.

It is a remarkable fact that at no time in the course of this episode were the representatives of the United States in Ecuador instructed by Seward to oppose French policy. Hassaurek was praised for his diligence in reporting the successive diplomatic phases, but given no positive orders on the subject. Mexico, as Seward apparently foresaw, was the key to the entire movement. It absorbed Napoleon III.'s American energies, to the exclusion of Ecuador. His failure there eventually occasioned a general retreat from all imperialistic projects in the western hemisphere. Hispanic America was to remain American and republican.

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<sup>20</sup> Undated memo. left by Antonio Flores at the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, A. E., *Equateur*, 15.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Fabre to Thouvenel, 2 November, 1862.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Thouvenel to Fabre, 20 December, 1862.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Nouvelle Grenade, 16, instructions to M. Goury du Roslan, 31 January, 1863. See report of Philip Griffith to Lord John Russell, May 6, 1863 (No. 24) in Public Record Office (London), F. O., 55/171A.

<sup>24</sup> Dept. of State, *Ecuador*, Instructions, I, Seward to Hassaurek, December 14, 1863 (No. 59).

The resolution adopted at the Seventh International Conference of American States on the teaching of history is a step in the right direction and will be a factor in efforts for intellectual coöperation among the peoples of the Americas. The resolution is as follows:

The Governments represented . . . have agreed to the following:

*Article 1*

To revise the text books adopted for instruction in their respective countries, with the object of eliminating from them whatever might tend to arouse in the immature mind of youth aversion to any American Country.

*Article 2*

To review periodically the text books adopted for instruction on the several subjects, in order to harmonize them with most recent statistical and general information so that they shall convey the most accurate data respecting the wealth and productive capacity of the American Republics.

*Article 3*

To found an "Institute for the Teaching of History" of the American Republics, to be located in Buenos Aires, and to be responsible for the coördination and inter-American realization of the purposes described, and whose ends shall be to recommend:

(a) That each American Republic foster the teaching of the history of the others.

(b) That greater attention be given to the history of Spain, Portugal, Great Britain and France, and of any other non-American country in respect to matters of major interest to the history of America.

(c) That the nations endeavor to prevent the inclusion, in educational programs and handbooks on History, of unfriendly references to other countries or of errors that may have been dispelled by historical criticism.

(d) That the bellicose emphasis in handbooks on History be lessened and that the study of the culture of the peoples and the universal development of civilization of each country made by foreigners and by other nations, be urged.

(e) That annoying comparisons between national and foreign historical characters, and also belittling and offensive comments regarding other countries, be deleted from text books.

(f) That the narration of victories over other nations shall not be used as the basis for a deprecatory estimate of the defeated people.

(g) That facts in the narration of wars and battles whose results may have been adverse, be not appraised with hatred, or distorted.

(h) That emphasis be placed upon whatever may contribute constructively to understanding and coöperation among the American Countries.

In the fulfillment of the important educational functions committed to it, the "Institute for the Teaching of History" shall maintain close affiliation with the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, established as an organ of coöperation between the Geographic and Historic Institutes of the Americas, of Mexico City, and with other bodies whose ends are similar to its own.

The statement of the delegation of the United States of America was as follows:

The United States heartily applauds this initiative and desires to record its deep sympathy with every measure which tends to encourage the teaching of the history of the American nations, and particularly the purification of the texts of history books, correcting errors, freeing them from bias and prejudice, and eliminating matter which might tend to engender hatred between nations. The Delegation of the United States of America desires to point out, however, that the system of education in the United States differs from that in other countries of the Americas in that it lies largely outside the sphere of activity of the Federal Government and is supported and administered by the State and Municipal authorities and by private institutions and individuals. The Conference will appreciate, therefore, the constitutional inability of this Delegation to sign the above Convention.

In accordance with a resolution of May 1, 1935, of the governing board of the Pan American Union, the director general of the Union was authorized to request the Inter-American Bibliographical Association to prepare a plan of uniform cataloguing, in order to meet the intention of Article 3 of the resolution concerning Inter-American bibliography adopted by the Seventh International Conference of American States, on December 16, 1933. The tentative project prepared by the Association in answer to the request, is as follows:

#### PRELIMINARY SUGGESTIONS TOWARDS UNIFORMITY OF PRACTICE IN CATALOGUING

Enter books under the author, individual or corporate.

Works written in collaboration by not more than three authors are ordinarily to be entered under the first named with added entries for the others.

Modern writers are to be entered under the surnames, followed, after a comma, by the given name or names.

Compound surnames are (allowing occasional specific exceptions) to be entered under the first part with references from the other part or parts.

Surnames with prefixes are to be treated as follows:

a. In English, enter under the prefix.

b. In French, enter under the prefix when the prefix is an article or contains one.

Du Mesnil, Octave

La Borderie, Arthur de

c. In Spanish and Portuguese, enter under the part following the prefix.

Casas, Bartolomé de las

Silva Pinto, Antonio da

d. For German, Dutch and Flemish names enter under the part following the prefix:

Aa, Abraham Jacob van der

Schulze-Gaevernitz, Gerhart von



Societies, including associations and societies of all kinds, scientific, benevolent, moral, etc., even when strictly local or named from a country, state, county or province, also clubs, guilds, orders of knighthood, secret societies, intercollegiate societies, Greek letter fraternities, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian associations, affiliated societies, political parties, religious sects, etc., are to be considered as authors of their official publications, and are to be entered under the first word (not an article) of the last corporate names, with reference from any other name by which the societies are known and from the names of the places where the headquarters are established.

Institutions (establishments, as distinguished from societies), including colleges, universities, schools, libraries, museums, galleries, observatories, laboratories, churches, cemeteries, monasteries, convents, hospitals, asylums, prisons, theaters, chambers of commerce, stock exchanges, boards of trade, botanical and zoological gardens, buildings, etc., are to be considered as authors of their official publications and are to be entered under the name of the place in which located.

Governments, including nations, states, provinces, municipalities, and other governmental districts, are to be considered as authors of their official publications, and the names of the legislative bodies, courts, executive departments, bureaus, boards, committees, etc., from which the publications emanate are to be given as the subheadings in the latest form and in the vernacular.

For further specifications and exceptions concerning Societies and Institutions consult: *Library of Congress. Guide to the cataloguing of the serial publications of societies and institutions*, comp. and ed. by Harriet Wheeler Pierson. Second ed., Washington, 1931.

For further specifications and exceptions concerning Governments consult: *Author entry for government publications*, by James B. Childs, Washington, 1935.

*Periodicals.* Enter a periodical under the first word of the latest title not an article (with reference from earlier or conventional titles).

For detailed specifications, see: *Library of Congress. Guide to the cataloguing of periodicals* (third edition). Prepared by Mary Wilson MacNair. Washington, 1931.

Two general codes which may be helpful in any expansion of the foregoing points are as follows:

1. *Catalog rules, author and title entries.* Compiled by committees of the American Library Association and the (British) Library Association. American edition. Boston, Mass., American Library Association, 1908. 88 pp. Supplemented by special rules on cards prepared by the Library of Congress.

2. *Biblioteca apostolica vaticana. Norme per il catalogo degli stampati.* Città del Vaticano, 1931, vii. 400 p.

All entries should preferably be made on the international standard size card (12.5 cm. x 7.5 cm.).

The first issue has just appeared of the *Latin American Bulletin of Music* published by the Section of Musical Investigation of the University of Montevideo, Uruguay, under the editorship of Dr. Francisco Curt Lange. The purpose of the *Bulletin* is to serve as an organ of

communication among composers and musicians of the American Continent and to make known to the musicians of each country the accomplishments of those of the other nations of the Western Hemisphere. This is the first time in the history of music on the American Continent that such an undertaking has been attempted. The first issue of the *Bulletin* consists of more than 250 pages of text with a musical supplement of over 50 pages. Among the articles appearing in this first issue of the *Bulletin* are contributions from a number of the republics of the American Continent, including Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru, as well as several from North America. The musical supplement includes compositions by J. J. Castro, L. Gianneo, J. C. Paz, and E. M. Casella of Argentina; P. Humberto Allende and C. Isamitt of Chile; Heitor Villa-Lobos, C. Guarnieri, Lorenzo Fernandez, and Francisco Mignone of Brazil; and Eduardo Fabini of Uruguay. The price of the *Bulletin* and Musical Supplement is \$3.00. The Foreign & International Book Company, Inc., 110 East 42 Street, New York, N. Y., has been appointed agent for the *Bulletin*.

On March 10, 1936, the director general of the Pan American Union announced the establishment of a "Center of Inter-American Bibliography"—a project approved by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union. A record will be made in this new center of the bibliographies on inter-American subjects that have already been completed; of those in preparation; and of plans for future projects. The resolution on "American Bibliography" adopted by the Seventh International Conference of American States at Montevideo in 1933 states in Article 16 that the library of the Pan American Union should undertake the constructive work of inter-American bibliography. In view of the urgent need and a great importance for coördination and coöperation in bibliographic activities, the establishment of such a Center in the Pan American Union has been considered most appropriate at this time. As indicated by its name, this Center will work toward the coördination and coöperation of inter-American bibliographical efforts in order that it may be a source of information to persons interested in this activity. All persons who are interested are urged to send to the librarian of the Pan American Union any information of projects completed, in preparation, or proposed.

The Institute of Historical Research of the University of London, Malet Street, Bloomsbury, announces an Anglo-American Historical

Conference for July 6-11, 1936. The chairman of the conference is Dr. A. F. Pollard and the secretary, Mr. Guy Parsloe. The arrangements are similar to those of the conferences of 1921, 1926, and 1931. Registration will take place on Saturday, July 4, and Monday, July 6. A section on "Historical Relations between Europe and the American Continents," under Professor H. Hale Bellot, as chairman, and Dr. Pelham H. Box, as secretary, both of London University, has been arranged. The latter, it will be remembered, received his doctorate some years ago under Dr. William Spence Robertson at the University of Illinois. Scholars of the United States are invited to participate in this section.

The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America announces its eleventh seminar in Mexico, which will occur June 9-29, 1936, in Cuernavaca and Mexico City. Among the themes relating to Mexico to be discussed are education, economics, social forces, history, music, modern art, popular airs, literature, folk and fiestas, inter-American relations, and the pre-conquest. Among lecturers will be Rafael Ramírez, Chester Lloyd Jones, Federico Bach, Edward Alsworth Ross, Ramón Beteta, Carlos Chávez, Diego Rivera, René d'Harnoncourt, Berta Gamboa de Camino, Herminio Portell Vilá, Charles A. Thompson, Oswald Garrison Villard, Hubert Herring, Richard Pattee, and Ellen and Herbert J. Spinden. These names insure a profitable summer for those who will attend the seminar. The total expense will probably not rise above \$450, and may be somewhat lower. The seminar will consist of lectures, round-table discussions, and field trips. Following the seminar, those who wish to incur additional expense may take the one-week trips to the states of Michoacán and Oaxaca, each of which will cost about fifty dollars. Applications to join the seminar should be sent to the executive director, Dr. Hubert Herring, 289 Fourth Ave., New York City.

*The Report of the Librarian of Congress for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1935* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1935, pp. 349) notes (p. 40) that 32,058 pages of photostat copies were obtained from the Archivo de Indias, Seville, during the year. Much of this material relates to Louisiana and Florida. Many government documents from Hispanic American countries were added to the Library (pp. 55-57). The Law Library also added many Hispanic

American titles (p. 83), and during the year a great many volumes of history, economics, and other branches for all countries of Hispanic America were acquired.

The well known Colombian scholar, Dr. G. Porras Troconis, of Cartagena, is the director of a monthly periodical, *América Española*, the first issue of which appeared in May, 1935. This new review is devoted especially to serious historical articles relative to Spanish America. Each number will have about 96 pages of reading matter. Articles by European and American scholars (including Anglo-Americans) will be published. Annual subscription is four dollars U. S. gold. The director invites studies by North American scholars.

Dr. Esteban Gil Borges, who was assistant director of the Pan American Union at Washington for many years, has been appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in the government of Venezuela. Dr. Gil Borges is well known for his scholarly attainments in the fields of constitutional and international law and of the philosophy of history. He stands in the front rank of scholars of all the Americas. His interests are broad and humanitarian, and his conclusions always sound. He has been the great proponent of inter-American bibliographical solidarity.

Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, chief of the division of classification of the National Archives, was sent to South America as consultant for the Third World Power Conference, which is to be held in Washington in September of 1936. For the duration of this mission (February 16-April 30), Dr. Hill was granted leave of absence from the National Archives and temporary transfer to the Department of the Interior. Dr. Hill's knowledge of Spanish and his long acquaintance with Hispanic American peoples particularly fit him for this work. He visited each of the South American capitals where his purpose was to interest the various government and private agencies in the forthcoming conference. In addition to carrying out the preparations for the conference he visited the archives of the different countries. Dr. Hill returned to the United States about April 16, and resumed his duties at the National Archives after April 30.—M. E. R.



Dr. Percy Alvin Martin, of Stanford University, has been decorated with the order of the Cruzeiro do Sul or Southern Cross. This was formerly the most important decoration conferred by the Brazilian Empire, but was abolished on the advent of the republic in 1899. Two years ago, however, it was revived by the existing government and is conferred only on foreigners who have interested themselves in Brazilian history and institutions. By inadvertence, this decoration, as reported in the February (1936) issue of this REVIEW, was called the "Cross of Gold". It should be noted, also, that Dr. Martin has recently been elected a corresponding member of the Instituto Sanmartiniano of Buenos Aires.

Attention is called to the note by Professor F. A. Kirkpatrick published in the REVIEW (XV. 492-493) on the *Noticias Secretas*, in which the learned author ascribes the review of Miss Ruth Barbour's *Indian Labor in the Spanish Colonies* to Dr. Irving A. Leonard instead of to Lesley Byrd Simpson.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### CONVERSIÓN EN PÍRITU

Among notable narratives of America told by Spanish conquerors, explorers, and colonists, this little book, *Conversión en Píritu*, written by Father Matias Ruíz Blanco, is not the least interesting or instructive. It was first published in 1683 in Burgos. A new edition came out in 1690. From this edition the book was reprinted in 1892 as a volume of the famous series, *Colección de libros raros ó curiosos que tratan de América*. It is worthy of being made more generally accessible to readers in the United States through an English translation.

In his *Historia corográfica natural y evangélica de la Nueva Andalucía*, Antonio Caulín, an outstanding historian of colonial Venezuela, pronounced Ruíz Blanco one of the most celebrated of the Franciscan missionaries to that country. Indeed, no name stands higher, if so high, in the records of the missions of Píritu, unless it be that of Caulín himself. Ruíz Blanco was born in Estepa, Province of Andalucía, in 1643. At the age of twenty-three he became professor of theology in the Franciscan monastery in Seville. In 1670, he gave up his professorship to come to the Franciscan missions recently established in Píritu, in northern Venezuela. Here he labored zealously as missionary to the Cumanagotos and Palenques, established several new missions, was president of the college of Píritu and twice provincial commissary. In 1683, he was made sinodal examiner of the bishopric of Puerto Rico, a diocese which included this part of Venezuela. He went on several journeys to Spain in the interest of the missions. As Caulín relates, he was a vigorous defender of the Indian against the local authorities before the Spanish government. His mission to Spain in 1701 had for its object a protest against the abuses of the encomenderos.

As a missionary, Ruíz Blanco never spared himself, Caulín declared. He was the Father Kino of Venezuela in his devotion to the conversion of the Indian. In times of famine and plague, he was untiring in his services to their physical and spiritual needs, walking miles to give aid to the sick and destitute with little sustenance for himself.

In addition to his active work as a missionary, Ruíz Blanco was a constant student of Indian languages. He takes rank as a foremost philologist of the American Indian tongue. To his credit there exist the following published works:

Principios y reglas de la lengua cumanagota con un diccionario de ella.

Mannel para catequizar y administrar los santos sacramentos a los indios que habitan en las provincias de la Nueva Andalucía y San Cristóbal de los cumanagotos.

Reglas para la inteligencia de la lengua de los indios del Píritu.

Advertencias y anotaciones a la gramática cumanagota.

Tesoro de nombres y verbos.

Conversión en Píritu de indios cumanagotos, palenques, etc.; sus incrementos, ritos, cosas particulares de este país; published with it, *Práctica que hay en la enseñanza de los indios y un directivo para que los religiosos puedan comodamente instruirlos en las cosas esenciales de la religión cristiana.*

The *Conversión en Píritu* might be considered a sort of prospectus for enrolling missionaries. In his dedication of the work to the Marquis de los Vélez, president of the council of the Indies, Ruíz Blanco stated that his purpose in writing this book was to interest other workers to come and to interest the Spanish government in the field. He is very frank, however, in pointing out the difficulties and dangers to be encountered. Perhaps this fact would encourage the zealous and devoted seventeenth century missionary to come. Although his work was written with a practical objective, it has the merits of a careful and, on the whole, a correct natural and social survey of the Province of New Barcelona. It consists of a description of the climate, natural features, plant and animal life, material resources, and Indian civilization and a history of the missions. It is not possible in a note of this scope to review all the contents of this compact little volume. It contains a mine of interesting and useful information and much enlightenment on seventeenth century mission life. In addition, the book makes a delightful appeal in the insight it gives into the personality of Ruíz Blanco and the lives of some of his colleagues.

The practical wisdom of the writer is revealed in his attention to health, the maintenance of which was a formidable problem in this tropical region. His rules were: eat little, bathe often, avoid exposure to the sun, shun the heavy dews, and refrain from blood-letting. These rules are an advancement upon the superstitious ideas and practices still prevalent at that time in parts of Europe. The early Spanish governors had been instructed, in fact, to prevent the Indians

from bathing so often on the ground that it would injure their health. It might be noted in passing that many observers were impressed by the frequent baths of the Indians. Ruíz Blanco commended the personal cleanliness of the Indians of Venezuela.

The problem of securing nutritious food was a constant one; also the location of an adequate and safe water supply. Indians died of starvation. The missionaries were undernourished. The writer mentioned friars who became totally blind from malnutrition. He gave much attention in the *Conversión* to a description of the food resources of the country afforded and to a statement of their relative merits. It is interesting to note his emphasis on the pineapple as an excellent food for those affected with kidney troubles, a fact stressed by present-day dietetics. Missions had often to be moved because the water supply was insufficient or unsafe. Sometimes water was laboriously carried for leagues to supply the missions. The harmful effects of insects on health and comfort were described in detail. Mission records are indeed replete with accounts of insects which made the lives of the friars and Indians miserable—from ants, which ate their reports, to mosquitoes, sabandijas, and countless others, which disturbed their sleep and endangered their health.

Ruíz Blanco was greatly attracted to a colleague, Antonio de la Concepción, a sort of general physician to the missions. He had come as a layman to America, had been captured and maltreated by pirates on the coast of New Spain, and had suffered other misfortunes. He sought refuge in the missions of Píritu. He studied diseases with enthusiasm, made tests, kept records of results, and was marvelously skilful in his prescriptions and applications. During serious illnesses in the mission, he was tireless, refusing to sleep at all. Ruíz Blanco was impressed by the beneficent effect of his personality, his wit, his cheer in the cure of patients.

In his attention to health, Ruíz Blanco had to contend with Indian superstitions and the hostility of the medicine men, who recognized in the missionary a dangerous rival. They constituted one of the most formidable obstacles to both physical and spiritual progress. If a child were baptized in expectation of death, the death, if it came, was attributed to the baptism, and the Indians were frightened away. The writer noted a case in which he ventured to promise recovery to an adult if he would accept the Christian religion. Along with keen in-



terest in and reliance upon scientific knowledge, Ruíz Blanco revealed nevertheless a belief in the providential.

In the midst of famine, plague, Indian troubles, and controversies with civilians, Ruíz Blanco turned aside to admire the gorgeous birds of the country, whose beauty he declared made one break into praise of God. He described at length the various kinds. One of these he made a pet. It lived in his cell, awakened him each morning, and attended him on his journeys. This little excursion into bird life constitutes one of the most delightful features of the book.

Although he was not an architect or painter himself, Ruíz Blanco was concerned for the artistic improvement of the missions. He made special mention of colleagues who engaged in these activities, especially of Manuel de Jesús, who worked twenty years building churches, going on long journeys through the mountains in search of special timbers. He spent his life building houses and never had a cell of his own, but slept in a corner wherever he might happen to be.

Among the Indians of the country the much maligned Caribs made powerful appeal to the imagination of this noted missionary. They were never successfully reduced by the Spanish. Through hostility to the Spanish conquerors and through commercial interest they were attached to the Dutch in Guayana. Ruíz Blanco regretted keenly the failure of the missionary to attract them. He recognized their superiority, physical and intellectual, to the other Indians of this region and considered them more worth saving.

The author commended certain governors for the promotion of the missions; others he said did no good and most of them did injury to the cause of the church. He was bitter in his condemnation of the *encomenderos*. Reduction of the Indians to Christianity was impossible, he insisted, unless a check to the vicious *encomienda* system were made. He made suggestions for the promotion of Spain's interests in Venezuela, insisting, for example, on the advantage to be obtained from a better supply of merchandise in the Spanish towns. Otherwise, the Indians would continue to buy from the Caribs, who traded with the Dutch.

The second part of this little volume is a study in philology, with an introduction in which the difficulties encountered in attempting to translate the religious teachings into the Indian tongues are analyzed. Ruíz Blanco was never satisfied with his work in this field, although it was highly commended by others. After working eighteen years on

a study and having it pronounced satisfactory by all the interpreters, he was still unsatisfied. He made use of the experimental method in improving his translations. He called the interpreters together, had them suggest words and phrases, and then had these tested among the Indians.

Ruiz Blanco is an intriguing character: a Humboldt in his treatment of scientific subjects, a Father Kino in his concern for his Indians, a Saint Francis himself in his tender sentiments and fine sensibilities. Both the author and his little book are fascinating.

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## NOTES

In line with his work of recent years is Professor Rafael Altamira's *Idea de una política actual Hispanoamericana* (Madrid, C. Bermejo, impresos, 1934, pp. 19). This was read at the Fourteenth Congress of the Asociación Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias, held at Santiago de Campostela, in 1934.

Enrique Larreta, in his *Las dos Fundaciones de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, Vian y Zona, Editores, 1933, pp. 59) has given a charming account in poetical vein of the two foundings of Buenos Aires. The book, which is artistic throughout, is illustrated in colors by Guy Arnoux. It is historically accurate. A colophon recites that the volume was printed by Las Prensas de Coulouma, Argenteuil, under the direction of Georges Crès, of December 15, 1932. Six hundred numbered copies were printed, and sixty other copies numbered for the collaborators, from I to LX.

Herbert Eugene Bolton's syllabus, *History of the Americas*, first published by Ginn and Co., in 1928, has already (1935) gone into a second edition—which is good evidence that the book is useful and that it has found a place. In this edition, "the reading lists have been revised to include new books and new editions of some of the older books. In the textbook assignments, references to both new and old editions make it possible to use either. Special effort has been made to improve the list of monthly topical readings, with a view to substituting books of greater human interest and better literary style for some which by experience have proved to be unsuitable for the main purpose, which is to encourage students to read historical books for pleasure. A List of Atlases has been added". The selected bibliography is valuable. The new edition cannot fail to be of even greater use than the original edition.

No. LVII of the Publications of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas is by the United States scholar, Lewis Hanke. It is entitled *Las Teorías Políticas de Bartolomé de las Casas* (Buenos Aires,

Talleres S. A. Casa J. Peuser, Ltda., pp. 65). The author's purpose has been merely to state the political theories of the Apostle of the Indies, and not to sit on judgment on those theories. He has accomplished his purpose.

From the University of Chicago Press comes (1935) a volume entitled *The Tarahumara: An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico*, by Wendell C. Bennett and Robert M. Zingg (pp. xix, 412). This volume, which sells for \$4.00 is abundantly illustrated. Part I, by Robert M. Zingg, consists of ten chapters, namely: Natural Environment; Domestic animals; Agriculture and food; Lumbering and woodcraft; Housekeeping and manufacturing; Costume and personal decoration; Ethnozoölogy of the Sierra; Ethnobotany of the Sierra; Culture in the Gorges, and interregional trade; and Ethnobotany of the Gorges. Part II, by Wendell C. Bennett, has sixteen chapters, as follows: Social environment; Economics; Government; Law; Kinship; Marriage; Birth; Death, Shamans; Native *fiestas*; Peyote; Church *fiestas*; Religion; Social life and social control; Sports; and Knowledge. Part III, by both authors jointly, is a Summary and conclusion; and an Appendix entitled "Tabular analysis of the cultures of the Sonoran Uto-Aztekan". The volume is furnished with a bibliography and an index. This is not only an important ethnological study, but points the way to similar studies of other Mexican Indians of whom very little is yet known. The volume has value also as a contribution to the study of customary law and comparative culture.

The Instituto de Investigaciones Lingüísticas, the address of the editorial committee of which is Calle San Ildefonso, 43, Mexico City, has already published in its series "Biblioteca Lingüística Mexicana" the following works:

- No. 1. Estudios gramaticales de la Lengua Cora. Edited by Rev. Aniceto M. Gómez; with a bibliographical introduction by Professor José Cornejo Franco; pp. 63.
- No. 2. Vocabulario agrícola nacional, compiled under the auspices of the Dirección General de Estadística and of the above mentioned Instituto. This glossary contains over 2 000 words relating to agriculture and is the first work of this nature to be published in Mexico.

Both books sell for two pesos Mexican currency. As its No. 3, the Instituto announces:



Diccionario Nahuatl-Español y Español-Nahuatl, by Miguel Trinidad Palma. 2 vols., of 500 pages each. The work is to be preceded by a bibliographical note by Dr. Mariano Silva y Aceves, a grammatical synthesis of the Nahuatl language by Dr. Hugo Leicht, and a study of Nahuatl prosody by Byron McAfee. This "Vocabulario" will modernize the one formerly compiled by Sr. Molina and all the words of the "Remí Simeón" not in Molina, will be added.

Dr. J. L. Montalvo Guenard, in his *Rectificaciones Históricas—El Descubrimiento de Boriquén* (Ponce, Puerto Rico, Editorial del Llano, 1933, pp. 438, illus., \$3.00), has given here the results of a research and investigation lasting over twenty-eight years. The author seeks to establish the point on the west coast of Puerto Rico where Columbus landed in 1493. He recites briefly what a number of eminent historians have said of the discovery, such authors including Diego Álvarez Chanca, Peter Martyr, Fernando Colón, Bartolomé de las Casas, Oviedo, López de Gómara, and others. Chapter V of this interesting book is entitled "Síntesis verdadera del segunda Viaje de Colón"; Chapter VI, "La Prueba arqueológica"; Chapter VII, "El Fondeadero de Colón al Oeste de Boriquén". The author's investigations lead him to believe that the point first discovered in Puerto Rico was the Bahía de Boriquén in the district of Cabo Rojo, near the farthest western angle of the south coast of Boriquén, and not at the Aguada. This may be a moot question and perhaps not all authorities on this point will agree with the learned author.

The publishing house of Adolf Klein, Verlag, Leipzig, S. 3, has published (1935) a pamphlet of 53 pages by Jorge de Lima, namely, *Rassenbildung und Rassenpolitik in Brasilien*. A short "Vorwort", by Hans Bayer, states that a young Brazilian physician, Jorge de Lima, wrote this book in 1924 in German—which one must agree was no small feat. The pamphlet has chapters or sections as follows: Brasilien—das Atlantis der Europäischen Mythe; Der brasilianische Mensch; Der amerikanische Mensch ist das Product des amerikanischen Bodens; Brasiliens Ureinwohner; Rassenmischmach oder Selektionsprozess?; Wirkungen des Einwanderungsstroms; Biologische und Wirtschaftliche Faktoren der Zuchwahl; Brasilien—"ein ungeheurer Neger-Staat"?; Die Ethnische Bilanz die brasilianischen Volkers; and Rassenpolitik und Brasiliens Zukunft. This is an interesting study but not in any way definitive.

From the publishing establishment of Wilhelm Gronau, Jena and Leipzig, comes a pamphlet by Professor Aurelio Concheso, minister plenipotentiary for Cuba in Germany, namely, *Cuba en la Vida internacional* (1935, pp. 24, 80 Rpf.). This is heft 8 of a series "Spanische Reihe", which itself is part of a larger series "Vom Leben und Wirken der Romanen"—a "Sammlung von Vorträgen, die in Romanischen Seminar der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin gehalten wurden"—edited by Herr Ernst Gamillschegg. An editorial announcement is to the effect that the short time given for the printing of Sr. Concheso's lecture did not permit of the careful revision of the proofs that would have been advisable. Sr. Concheso reviews briefly the early struggles of Cuba, the acquisition of independence with the help of the United States, the unwanted Platt Amendment, the late revolution in Cuba, Cuban participation during the Seventh Conference of American States at Montevideo in 1933 (which was headed by the brilliant Cuban scholar, Dr. Herminio Portell Vilá), the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, and various other matters. The address closes with a short review of some of the eminent men who have worked for Cuba. High tribute is paid to José Martí.

*La Palabra del General Uriburu* (Buenos Aires, Roldán, editor, 1933, pp. 175) consists of Uriburu's "discursos, manifiestos, declaraciones y cartas publicadas durante su gobierno". The volume has a prologue by Carlos Ibarguren, who says, "The best homage one can pay to the memory of General Uriburu is that of spreading his thought through these living pages which retain the echo of his word". Uriburu, whose death occurred only a few years ago, was, says his editor, a leader of his people rather than a caudillo or professional politician. It was he who saved the country for constitutional government, and once he had done this, withdrew from power. The prólogo is followed by forty-five selections from Uriburu's addresses and other pronouncements. He was plain spoken. In his manifesto of June 9, 1931, he said: "During seventy years of constitutional life, we Argentinians have given evidence of three capital defects which have characterized our politics—namely, personalism, centralism, and oligarchy, which developed lastly toward demagoguery". Perhaps the most interesting selection is Uriburu's letter to Dr. Laurencena, of July 5, 1931 (pp. 101-111) in which he reviews briefly the reasons for and effects of the revolution which he headed, and analyzes conditions since that rev-

olution and his own reactions to those conditions. Also, of especial interest is Uriburu's defense of August 4, 1931, against the charges of Dr. Marcelo T. de Alvear (pp. 133-142), in which he said: "My government is not a legal, but a revolutionary one. It is trying to adjust itself loyally to the laws and to bring about a return to real normality, which will become a fact with the elections summoned for November 8". His last manifesto of February 20, 1932, after the election of his constitutional successor (pp. 162-170), is also of considerable interest. The volume is well printed on good paper.

*My Jungle Book*, by Herbert S. Dickey (Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1932, pp. xi, 298, illus., \$3.50) attempts, among other things to "debunk" the reports of some explorers in South America. Dr. Dickey, a physician, has spent some thirty years in South America and feels that he has first-hand knowledge of many parts of that continent. He has been attached to various interests as physician and in spare moments or intervals has engaged in considerable exploring. Accompanied often by his wife, he has penetrated into little known regions or jungle and river. In 1931, on his fifth attempt, he states in his book that he found the real source of the Orinoco—the river of the black fly. His comments on many matters are always of interest, whether one always agrees with him or not. Certainly, one must agree with his assertion that no exploring expedition should penetrate into the wilds of the southern continent without taking a physician as a member of its staff. No student of Hispanic American history will dispute his belief that South America will never be converted to Protestantism; nor will the vast majority of people see the desirability of such conversion. His remarks on the Indians, with whom he is most sympathetic, are of interest, and undoubtedly much nonsense has been written about them. Throughout his narrative he writes in a matter of fact way, but at times, notwithstanding his diatribes against the "scientific explorer" who generally recites many hair-raising episodes, he himself seems to have had some tense moments. Readers who go to South America will do well to note carefully what he says of the dangers of insects and disease, which he asserts are the worst things to be dreaded in South America.

Frederick C. Chabot, who has written numerous books on Texas, has edited the diary of James L. Trueheart, one of the Perote prison-

ers. The volume, entitled *The Perote Prisoners* was published by the Naylor Company of San Antonio (1934, pp. xiv, 344, \$5.00), the edition numbering only 400. The diary (never before published), the original manuscript of which is conserved in Tampico, Mexico (in the possession of Fanny T. Canales), is preceded by a short preface, a short treatise on the Trueheart Family, and an historical introduction, in the last of which many quotations are made from the Maverick Diary (never before published in its entirety), E. W. Winkler's "The Bexar and Dawson Prisoners", and other printed accounts. The Trueheart Diary covers the period 1842-1844, and is an excellent running account of the adventures of certain prisoners made during an inroad into Texas by a body of Mexicans under General Adrian Woll, in September, 1842. The captives, after a considerable march, were taken to the Perote Castle, 160 miles from the City of Mexico. There they remained until 1844, when some of those in custody there were freed and allowed to recross the Mexican border. The volume will be of interest chiefly to Texans and to students of national expansion. It is indifferently printed and contains a number of proof errors.

Farrar and Rinehart have published in their *The Incurable Filibuster—Adventures of Colonel Dean Ivan Lamb* (New York, 1934, 3 leaves, pp. 298, \$2.50)—a book written by Colonel Lamb with the aid of John Eoghan Kelly, to whom the volume is dedicated—a rather unique volume. Its value lies in the portrayal, apparently without any reservations, of the adventures of a modern freelance who was always ready to join any revolutionary cause which promised adventure, money, and drink. The colonel says in a foreword that his code as a professional soldier is: not to make war upon noncombatants, betray a cause once chosen, oppose the United States, or serve communism. He is a modern Gil Blas. His story is not edifying, notwithstanding that his energy and resourcefulness were great. He sold his services to revolutionists in various countries in South America and in Mexico and Central America, both as a soldier and as an aviation pilot; and served in the world war. His experiences can probably be duplicated many times but this is the first frank portrayal of such a career in these modern days. The volume has no special value for students of Hispanic American history.

George F. Luthringer's *The Gold Exchange Standard in the Philippines* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1934, pp. xvii,



291, bibliography and index, \$3.00) is a serious volume on a serious subject. It is a continuance of the studies of Dr. E. W. Kemmerer who describes the functioning of the system adopted in the Philippines up to 1913. A short foreword by the latter states that this volume is the "fourth of a series being published under the auspices of the International Finance Section of the Department of Economics and Social Institutions in Princeton University". The same authority also states that "the distinguishing feature of the Philippine gold exchange standard is that it is designed to function automatically without management or control by a central bank of issue". The currency system of the Philippines was inaugurated under the advice of Dr. Kemmerer. The present volume describes its functioning to 1932—this being accomplished in twelve chapters. Especially interesting is that part of the treatise beginning with Chapter VIII, "The currency and exchange crisis of 1919-1922". The effect in the Philippines of the devaluation of the dollar in the United States in April, 1933, and how this crisis was met is touched on. Now that the Philippines have become virtually independent and will become wholly independent in 1945, there may be a sharp divergence in the system as hitherto worked out. The volume, of course, does not treat of the Philippines during the period of Spanish control.

*Southeast of Zamboanga*, by Vic Hurley, with an introduction by Max Miller. New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1935, pp. 237, \$3.00) is a readable account of the experiences of the author and his partner, who tried to develop a plantation in the Island of Mindanao, the second largest island of the Philippine Archipelago. The book, apparently a true record, is a good description of the country and of the natives, both Moros and Pagans. The experiment undertaken by the author and his partner was hazardous in the extreme, for they cut themselves off almost entirely from contact with the outer world and lived in a country that might flame into hostility overnight. Moreover, they undertook the experiment without sufficient capital to make it a success, and without sufficient health protection. Finally, this and other adverse conditions, among them the dread malaria, caused them to abandon the enterprise and seek employment in a civilized community. The author had lived alone for a great part of the time as his partner had found employment outside in an effort to supply capital for the plantation. The book shows that one may still have adventures in the Philippines.

Normal Schwendener and Averil Tibbels, joint authors, have produced an unusually interesting and valuable account of Mexican legends and dances in their *Legends and Dances of Old Mexico* (New York, A. Barnes & Co., Inc., 1934, pp. xiii, 111, \$2.00). The volume, which is printed on good paper, has a pleasing appearance. Twelve dances are described, together with costumes and music; and the legends about them set forth. The book, with its numerous illustrations, is a contribution to this side of Mexican life. Some of these dances hark back to pre-Spanish days.

*A Gil Blas in California*, translated from the French of Alexandre Dumas, père, by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, was published in 1933 by the Primavera Press at Los Angeles (pp. xxx, 170, \$3.75). This book is an account of the great mining rush to California in 1849, and portrays the experiences of a young Frenchman who went to California via the Horn Route in a sailing vessel. One chapter is devoted to the stay at Valparaiso. The story appears to be the actual diary of the young man whose adventures it recites, although that may have been merely Dumas's way of writing the book. The volume has been translated into several languages but never until now into English. It has been impossible to compare the translation with the original as a copy of the latter could not be found. The mechanical work on the book has been well performed.

In his book *Attending Marvels: A Patagonian Journal* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. xi, [3], 3, 295, illus., \$3.00), Dr. George Gaylord Simpson, Associate Curator of Vertebrate Paleontology at the American Museum of Natural History, has given not only an excellent account of the Scarritt Expedition in Patagonia, but has written one of the best descriptions of that part of Patagonia in which the expedition operated. From beginning to end, there is not a dull moment in the narrative, which relates, mainly in diary form, the experiences of Dr. Simpson and his associate, Mr. Coley. The expedition had as its object the collecting of fossil bones of anti-diluvian animals—the oldest fossils known in the world—which occur in great profusion in Patagonia. The fifteen chapters reveal not only the scientific hunt and operations—not told in strict scientific language—but give as well the best idea of the country itself that has appeared in English. The two scientists saw something of the revolution of

Argentiniens at Buenos Aires, after which they plunged into windy Patagonia. Dr. Simpson's descriptions of the country, its people, its poverty and sterility, and its lack of comfortable civilization are not the least of the "attending marvels". One going into this great inhospitable region—the habitat of the guanaco and the so-called ostrich, the land where nature seems in revolt, the land where excitement or forgetfulness is wooed by elephantine quaffing of strong liquors, the land where one never inquires his neighbor's name or business—should by all means read this volume written by a man who has not lost his sense of humor, who knows how to live, and who has been able to impart considerable useful knowledge. The book is more interesting than the best novel. Its only lack is an index.

*Bolpebra: Frontera tripartita inestable entre Bolivia, Peru y Brasil* (La Paz, Bolivia, 1935, pp. 19), by José Aguirre Achá is an interesting study on the international law of rivers. Other recent Bolivian productions are *El Banco Central de Bolivia durante la guerra del Chaco* (La Paz, Editorial "América", 1936, pp. 189, [2], 8 plates); and República de Bolivia, *Mensaje Presidencial, 1935* (La Paz, Lit. e Imp. Unidas, 1935, pp. 92). The first of the last two titles has four chapters or sections, namely: Un Banco Boliviano; Transición; Batalla contra el Destino; and Estadismo. The plates form a graphic appendix, and are devoted almost entirely to the hospital of the bank. This institution opened its doors on July 1, 1929. The operations of the bank during the war are well set forth.

*Port-au-Prince et quelques autres Villes d'Haiti* (Port-au-Prince, Haiti, Imprimerie de l'Etat, 1934, pp. 111) has among other interesting features, the words and music of the national hymn of Haiti. Various sections are devoted to the history, geography, art, music, journalism, commerce, agriculture, education, and other striking features of Haiti. The volume is profusely illustrated.

*Modern Haiti*, edited by Richard Pattee and Muna Lee, of the University of Puerto Rico, in collaboration with Dantès Bellegarde, Price Mars, Maurice Dartigue, Madeleine Sylvain, Abel Léger, Volvick Ricourt, Dominique Hippolyte, and Jules Faine, now ready for publication, will include the following materials: Foreword, by Richard Pattee; Introduction, by Ernest H. Gruening; The Geography of

Haiti, by Dantès Bellegarde; Resumé of Haitian history, by Dantès Bellegarde; The Economic life of Haiti, by Dantès Bellegarde; The ethnic formation of the Haitian people and their folklore, by Price Mars; The formation of the creole language, by Jules Faine; Education in Haiti, by Maurice Dartigue; The status of Haitian women, by Madeleine Sylvain; Haitian literature, by Dominique Hippolyte; Haitian Music, by Volvick Ricourt; The American Occupation of Haiti, by Abel Léger; Resumé of the constitutional development of Haiti with documents, by Richard Pattee, in which will be given the imperial constitution of 1804, and the constitution of 1935; and Appendices and notes, in which will be given the concordat of 1861, and a table of Haitian rulers.

Dr. Juan Miguel Dihigo read a paper on *El Mayor General Pedro E. Betancourt y Dávalos en la Lucha por la Independencia de Cuba* at the meeting of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba held on June 28, 1934. This has been published by the Imprenta "El Siglo XX", A. Muñiz y Hno, 1934, pp. 68. A documentary appendix is presented on pp. 57-58.

Major Frank Pease, in his *Pole to Panama—An Appeal for American Imperialism and a Defense of American Capitalism* (New York, Robert Speller, Inc., [c1935], pp. iii, 51, \$1.00) is a frank exposition of the author's belief in the efficacy of an imperialistic national program looking toward territorial expansion on this western hemisphere. This, Major Pease thinks, will cure all economic and political ills in the United States, and will put a stop to subversive propaganda of every sort. The essay is vigorously written and is a good defense of Major Pease's idea of Americanism. He is, however, thinking away back into the time when the "manifest destiny" howlers were shouting out their doctrines.

Glen Barr and Harry James Russell, both assistant professors of Romanic languages at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, have edited a small volume entitled *Selection from Armando Palacio Valdés* (New York, etc., American Book Co., [c1935], pp. xiv, 238, \$1.00). Most of the selections are taken from the *Aguas Fuertes* of this excellent Spanish novelist. Thirteen selections have been made, and the book closes with certain helpful exercises and a vocabulary. The volume is



carefully edited. Palacio Valdés has thirty novels to his credit; and an extensive bibliography can be compiled of his works and works about his works, the best of these titles being included in the book.

The University of New Mexico Bulletin, *The Significance of the dated Prehistory of Chetro Kettl, Chaco Cañon, New Mexico*, was submitted by Florence M. Hawley as partial requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, at the University of Chicago. It was issued by the University of New Mexico Press in 1934 (pp. 80, x, 16 plates), and forms Monograph Series, Volume I, No. 1, or whole No. 246 of the Bulletin. The dissertation is a contribution to the archaeology of the region.

Dartmouth College has issued a small and artistic pamphlet entitled *The Orozco Frescoes at Dartmouth* (Hanover, N. H., 1934, pp. [24]). This was edited by Albert C. Dickerson, and has a foreword by the artist, J. C. Orozco. The frescoes are those of the Baker Library. There followed a page and a half account of Orozco at Dartmouth. The frescoes are called "An epic of American civilization" and have to do with the early history of Mexico. Part I is "The coming of Quetzalcoatl" and consists of seven panels—Migration [of the Aztecs]; Ancient human sacrifice; Aztec warriors; Coming of Quetzalcoatl; pre-Columbian golden age; The departure of Quetzalcoatl; and the Prophecy. Part II, also of seven panels, is entitled "The return of Quetzalcoatl", and the separate panels are: Cortez and the cross; The machine; Anglo-America; Hispano-America; Gods of the modern world; Modern human sacrifice; Modern migration of the Spirit. There are also several decorative panels, all of which are shown. The pamphlet concludes with a portrait of the artist. Each panel is described in the text. The idea is an excellent one, for it is a realization that in America are motifs for the brush of the artist; and quite properly Mexico, both in artists and motifs, has led the way in this modern presentation of America's history.

The Division of Historical Research of Carnegie Institution of Washington has issued another *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History now in Progress at the chief American Universities, December, 1935*. Pp. 51-53 are devoted to a list of dissertations concerning "America south of the United States", 37 titles being announced. A

few titles in the section "America in chronological order" (pp. 25-36) treat also of Hispanic America. Several dissertations concerning Hispanic America, also appear in the section "Dissertations printed since December, 1934" (pp. 53-55). It would seem that this valuable publication might be made more valuable still, if the word "chief" were dropped from the title and the survey made nation-wide. To name but one instance, the doctoral dissertation by Raul d'Eça, of the George Washington University on "Brazil-Guiana boundary disputes" deserves mention. Fortunately, some of the titles omitted here will be found in the survey recently published in this REVIEW (XV. 390-402). Certainly, the dissertations of an institution which has established the unique and important Center of Inter-American Studies, should be noted. A list of the universities mentioned in the pamphlet would be of service.

The *Anuario Bibliográfico Mexicano de 1933* (Mexico, Imprenta de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1934, pp. 414) was compiled by Felipe Teixidor. With the titles are given prices and to some tables of contents. In the year 1933, 717 titles are noted; additional titles of 1932, 72; works of Mexicans printed in foreign countries, 36; books on Mexico printed in foreign countries, 55. This is a useful compilation.

A useful bibliography, which comes from the Departamento de Bibliotecas of the Secretaría de Educación Pública of Mexico is the *Guía Bibliográfica de la Historia de México: Epoca Precortesiana* (Mexico, ediciones de El Libro y el Pueblo, 1935, pp. 74). The "nota preliminar" is signed by Antonio Acevedo Escobedo, and the book comes from the Talleres Gráficos de la Nación. Titles are divided into sections as follows: Introducción; La Cultura Tarasca; La Civilización Maya-Quiche; La Civilización Mixteco-Zapoteca; La Civilización Nahoá. The scheme followed is that seen in the *Historia de México* by Dr. Luis Chávez Orozco, which was written for use in secondary schools. The titles are those cited by that author.

Catalogue No. 595 (1936) issued by Francis Edwards, Ltd., London, is entitled "Old and rare Books, Engravings, original Drawings and Maps relating to Latin America". The prices appear moderate.

The "Bulletin of Bibliography Pamphlets", No. 31, by Madaline W. Nichols and Lucia Burk Kinnaird, both of the University of California, who have compiled several bibliographies, is entitled *A Bibliography of Articles on Education in Nosotros* (pp. 24). This annotated list is a reprint from *The Bulletin of Bibliography*, XV, No. 7, May-August, 1935 and bears imprint, "Boston, . . . The F. W. Faxon Company", 1935. In this REVIEW (XIV. 378-416) was published a bibliographical list by the same compilers of the historical articles published in *Nosotros*.

*The House of Trujillo*, a novel by Anne Cameron (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935, pp. 277, \$2.00) is an attempt to depict the planning of a revolution in a country of Hispanic America disguised under the name of Parazuela, the actual accomplishment of the revolution, and the rise of a new dictator. The story, which was first published in *The Saturday Evening Post*, is well told; but is not one that would make for cordial inter-relations between this country and the countries of Hispanic America, as it might be misinterpreted by some.

The novel of the Portuguese writer, Ferreira de Castro, namely, *A Selva*, has been translated into English by Charles Duff under the title *Jungle: A Tale of the Amazon Rubber-Tappers* (New York, The Viking Press, 1935, pp. xi, 340). This is a powerful narrative and is based in part on the actual experiences of the author, who himself worked for a time as a rubber tapper—undoubtedly the reason why he was able to write so succinctly and vividly. What Dr. Dickey says of the conditions prevailing among the rubber-tapping districts (whose book is noted elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW) corroborates the evidence furnished by the author of the present book. The latter's description of the all-pervading jungles recalls the vivid description given by Julian Duguid in *Green Hell*.

John Masefield, present poet laureate of England, and probably the best writer of sea tales of the present time, has written an interesting sea story called *The Taking of the Gry* (New York, Macmillan Company, 1934, 4 ll., pp. 193, \$2.00). The tale concerns two mythical Hispanic American countries along the Spanish main. The narrative relates the taking of a ship from the waters of the one

country into those of the other, thus frustrating the designs of one of the two states aided by certain official traitors of the other state. The motive of the tale comes from an old relation of a voyage of Sir Francis Drake.

*Lupita: A Story of Mexico in Revolution*, by Alberto Rembao (New York, Friendship Press, [c1935], 5 leaves, pp. 180, \$1.00) is a story by a Mexican of the spiritual struggle now going on in Mexico. A foreword by John A. MacKay attempts to show certain phases of that struggle. The book is well written and shows one side of the many-sided Mexicans. Its appeal will be rather to Protestant than to any other class, as the author is a Protestant and writes in the interest of Protestantism.

*The Great White Gods (Die Weissen Götter)* by the German author, Eduard Stucken, has been translated into English by Frederick H. Martens (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1934, pp. 712, illus., \$3.00). The book is described in the subtitle as "An epic of the Spanish invasion of Mexico and the conquest of the barbaric Aztec culture of the new world". Throughout, the author keeps rather closely to the main facts of the conquest, but has thoroughly salted the narrative with an exuberant imagination—which, of course, is perfectly legitimate in a novel. The result is an interesting book which all those interested in this phase of the history of Hispanic America would do well to read. The author has studied his history to some advantage.

In the *American Historical Review* for October, 1935 (XLI. 92-112), appeared an important documentary contribution by Lawrence Kinnaird, of the University of California, consisting of certain "Clark-Leyba Papers". The letters following Dr. Kinnaird's short introduction are from the rich mass of papers in the collection of the *Papeles de Cuba* of the Archivo de Indias, Seville. They are mostly written by Fernando de Leyba and George Rogers Clark and are of considerable value for the revolutionary period in the Illinois country. Documents of this nature allow historical workers to gauge more nearly accurately the actual aid rendered to Anglo-Americans during the American Revolution by Spaniards—usually officials. This aid must be carefully distinguished from the aid rendered by the government



as such, although the officials acted under general orders from the government. As this contact between Spaniards and Anglo-Americans is studied more intensively, Spanish aid is found to have been of more importance than historians have generally conceded.

The same *Review* in its issue for January, 1936, publishes Dr. Joseph B. Lockey's brilliant paper, "A Neglected Aspect of Isthmian Diplomacy". This was read at the 1934 session devoted to Hispanic American History at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

*Senderos*, that excellent review published in Bogotá, has its usual offering of meaty articles in four recent issues. That for May and June, 1935, publishes the following interesting articles: *Los Barrios para Empleados*, by A. S.; *Anotaciones históricas para un Estudio sobre el Arte de los Indios Colombianos*, by Luis Alberto. Acuña; *Concepto y Sentimiento de Patria*, by Luis López de Mesa; *Discurso del Sr. D. Eduardo Guzmán Esponda al recibir en la Academia Colombiana al Dr. D. Luis López de Mesa*; *El Llanero*, by Agustín Nieto Caballero; *A la Mujer de Suramérica*, by Alfonso Marín; *Tenjo*, by Norberto U. Lozano; *Chitaga*, by Martín Carvajal; *El Médico Lucas*, by Diego Carbonell; and *Informe del Director de la Biblioteca Nacional al Señor ministro de Educación*. The issue for July and August, 1935, has, among other things, the following: *El Ministro López de Mesa*; *Discurso pronunciado por el Doctor Antonio Gómez Restrepo en el "foyer" del teatro de Colón, en el homenaje a Victor Hugo, el 1.º de Julio último* *Reseña sobre la escultura y la orfebrería de los Indios Colombianos (de nuestra arte precolombino)*, by Luis Alberto Acuña; *El Momento de Don Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada*, by Guillermo Hernández de Alba; *El difícil arte de traducir*, by Francisco Escobar; *Las Ciencias antropológicas nacionales*, by Fr. Marcelino de Castellar; *El último Santaferense*, by Manuel Villaveces; and *El Monumento a la Diosa Chia*, by Daniel Ortega Ricaurte. The issue for September has articles as follows: *Del Atraco y otros Delitos*, by Luis López de Mesa; *Lope de Vega*, by Antonio Gómez Restrepo; *Don José María Cordovez Moure*, by D. S. O.; *Pot Pouri*, by José María Cordovez Moure; *Tocaime*, by Romó Zapata; *Apuntaciones sobre Mitología Chibcha*, by Darío Roza M. The issue for October, November, and December, 1935, publishes the following: *Discurso leído*

por don Baldomero Sanin Cano al recibirse miembro de número de la Academia Colombiana el 18 de Octubre de 1935; Discurso del Académico García Ortiz en respuesta al del Académico Sanin Cano con motivo de la recepción de este el día 18 de Octubre de 1935; Relación de Santa María de Leiva, 1610, by Juan Ruiz Cabeza de Vaca; En Villa de Leiva, by Manuel José Forero; Quito, Museo de Arte colonial, by Eduardo Valenzuela; El Médico ante la Revolución proletaria, by Vicente Dávila; Contingente alemán en la Cultura Colombiana, by Manuel J. Huertas G.; El Alma indígena, (del Ensayo social del Indio Boliviano), by Alfredo Sanjines; La Biblioteca Nacional de Washington, by Luis Martínez Delgado; Evocándose la Historia de un gran Pueblo. En el Día de Colombia, by Miguel A. Páez Formoso; Lista de tanteo de Bibliotecas públicas y particulares de alguna importancia en la República de Colombia. Volume IV. (Nos. 21, 22, and 23), is the last issue of *Senderos* that will be published under the direction of the director of the Biblioteca Nacional de Bogotá, Sr. Daniel Samper Ortega, as the duties of publication are being taken over by the Ministerio de Educación Nacional in which a publication section is being established. It is hoped that under the new directorship, *Senderos* will continue the high point of excellence that has been consistently maintained by Sr. Samper Ortega.

*San Martín*, the organ of the Instituto Sanmartiniano, began publication in August, 1935. Judging from the numbers that have been issued, with their excellent paper and format, and their contents, this new review, which is devoted in large part to José de San Martín and his activities, will win acclaim. The review, moreover, has, as its self-imposed task, the pleasing duty of reconstructing the past of the period of the Argentinian Liberator, that is, the period of the struggle for independence, of which San Martín was the leading protagonist. All students of history of the continent are invited to contribute to the review, with articles that will show the past in high relief, whether they write of San Martín, Bolívar, Miranda, O'Higgins, Sucre, or others of that period. In the first number the purposes of the review are well expressed by Sr. José Pacífico Otero. Other items include: Por que todo Argentino debe ser Sanmartiniano, by Carlos Obligado; Pedro Vargas, by Leopoldo R. Ornstein; Antonio Alvarez Jonte y su diario del viaje a bordo de la escuadra nacional de Chile, by José

Pacífico Otero; Visita al campo de batalla de Maipú, by Jorge Max Rohde; Oración fúnebre en honor de San Martín en la Catedral de Lima, by Juan Bautista Guzmán; Juicios sobre el Instituto Sanmartiniano; and a section entitled "Crónica general", consisting of a miscellany relating to the new institute and other matters. The second number, which appeared in November, 1935, has, among other items, the following: O'Brien, héroe de la emancipación sudamericana, by José Pacífico Otero; A la representación nacional Peruana, by Juan O'Brien; San Martín y la designación de Pueyrredón como director supremo, by César Raffo de la Reta; Un Centenar de Cartas inéditas de San Martín, by José Rodríguez Alcalá; Epistolario de San Martín, by José Pacífico Otero; and the "Crónica General". This is a dignified review and should be read by students in the northern as well as the southern continent.

The *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, Nos. 61-63, for July, 1934-March, 1935, is bulky and as usual, of more than passing interest. Its original articles are as follows: Los Orígenes de la Colonización Española en América, by José Mariá Ots Capdequí; La Lección siro-sinaítica de Mt. I, 16 y el Texto Von Soden. Ecos de una Pólémica, by Clemente Ricci; Contribución a la Historia del Gaucho, by Emilio A. Coni; La Francia y la Monarquía en el Plata, actitud de Inglaterra, 1818-1820, by Mario Belgrano; Del Buenos Aires colonial. La Festividad de su Patrono, by José Torre Revello; Dalmacio Vélez Sársfeld, la Iniciación forense (1st part) by Abel Cháneton; Un Compilador Indiano, Manuel José de Ayala, by Juan Manzano; Jaime Rasquin y su expedición del año 1559, by Enríque de Gandía; El Correo durante las Invasiones inglesas, by Ramón de Castro Esteves; La Sección Historia del Instituto científico judío de Wilno, by Isaac Manulis. In the section of Documentary Relations, are: Un Documento gráfico de la primera traza de la Villa de Luján, by Emilio Ravignani; Don Juan de San Martín, Nuevos Documentos para su biografía, by José Torre Revello; Una Crisis del progreso de la Ciudad de Montevideo y su Campaña, a mediados del Siglo XVIII, by Emilio Ravignani; and La Actitud de Santa Fe en el proyectado Congreso de Córdoba, de 1821, by the same. The other sections, namely, General and Special Inventories, Bibliographical Notes, and General Information are as usual, excellent, and the last named conveys information on a multiplicity of matters. In the Galería de

Historiadores, the portrait of Mariano Pelliza appears. The number ends with its Inventory of Documents, in which certain newspapers are noted.

*Revista Bimestre Cubana* for July-October, 1933 (XXV. Nos. 1 and 2) has the following: Un Examen de los Exámenes, by A. Bernal del Riesgo; Hacia una nueva Época histórica, by Gustavo Du-Bouchet; Discurso en el homenaje a José M. Chacón y Calvo, by Antonio S. de Bustamante y Montoro; Chacón y Calvo: Hombre vario, by Manuel Bisbe y Alberni; La Inquisición en Cuba desde 1518 hasta 1610, by Carlos M. Trelles; Inglaterra y Cuba en la primera mitad del Siglo XVII: Expedición de Vernon contra Santiago de Cuba en 1741, by Juan Pérez de la Riva; Sitio, cañoneo y asalto al Fuerte de el Guamo, by Carlos Muecke Bertel; Memorias de un Joven y ya mal Escritor, by Gonzalo de Quesada y Miranda; José Antonio Saco. Estudio biográfico (continued), by Pánfilo Camacho. This issue is edited with the accustomed meticulousness of its editor, Sr. Fernando Ortiz.

Lewis W. Bealer has an interesting article in *The Pacific Coast Historical Review* for December, 1935, entitled, "Bouchard in the Islands of the Pacific".

*La Revista Americana de Buenos Aires* in its issue for December, 1935, publishes "Interpretación de la Juventud Americana de nuestro Tiempo" by Eugenio Orrego Vicuña (an excellent article); and "Union espiritual Latino-Americano", by Amanda de Amunátegui.

Madaline W. Nichols is the author of a short article entitled "The Gaucho 'Motif' in Río de la Plata Life", in the November, 1935, issue of *The Spanish Review*. In collaboration with Lucia Burk Kinnaird, Miss Nichols has compiled *Bibliography of Articles in Nosotros: General Literary Criticism, exclusive of Hispanic American Literature*, which was published by the Institute of French Studies, Inc., Columbia University, New York [1935], pp. 84. In this, titles of Catalan, English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, Scandinavian, and Spanish literary products are given.

The *Revista Bolivariana*, the organ of the Sociedad Bolivariana de Colombia, in its issue for November, 1935, has the following



articles: Bolívar, su bronce glorificador en Quito, an address by Dr. Andrés Eloy de Rosa; ¿Cómo era el Libertador?, by Dr. Diego Carbonell; Aniversario de la Batalla de Carabobo, by Rev. Felix Restrepo, S. J. Several sections are devoted to bibliography, and various notes.

*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* in its issue for December, 1935, has an article by Garland Taylor, entitled "Colonial Settlement and Revolutionary Activity in West Florida up to 1779".

*World Affairs*, for December, 1935, has articles as follows: Structure of Inter-American Treaties, by Esteban Gil-Borges; Pan American Institute of Geography and History, Second General Assembly, by George Howland Cox; Recovery in Brazil, by Chester Lloyd Jones; and Recent Books on Latin America, by A. Curtis Wilgus. The issue for March, 1936, has Justice—The Bond of Commonwealths, by James Brown Scott; Peace in the Chaco and the Rôle of the United States, by Graham Stuart; Notes on Some Spanish-American Novels, by C. K. Jones; Conflict of Church and State in Mexico, by Glen Levin Swiggett; Church and State in Mexico, reading list by Samuel Guy Inman; Bibliographical Activities in the United States concerning Latin America, by A. Curtis Wilgus.

*Current History* for March, 1936, has the following: Cuba under a New President, by Hubert Herring; The Mexican Scene; Columbia and her Debts; Pan-America Labor Parley.

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* for January, 1935, publishes Part II of "A topographical Memoir of East and West Florida with Itineraries of General Jackson's Army, 1818", by Captain Hugh Young, with notes by Mark F. Boyd and Gerald M. Ponton. That for January, 1936, has a continuation of the Pantón-Leslie Papers, consisting of "Letters of William Pantón to John Forbes".

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS DEALING  
WITH HISPANIC AMERICA LISTED IN THE MONTHLY  
CATALOG UNITED STATES PUBLIC DOCUMENTS  
(WITH PRICES)

I

JULY, AUGUST, AND SEPTEMBER, 1935

ARGENTINA

1. *Argentina*. Plans in Argentina, from Argentine surveys between 1916 and 1928; chart 5449. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published June 1927, 2d edition, May 1935. 21.×24.2 in. 20c. N 6.18: 5449  
Leones, Canal, and Bahía San Gregorio.  
Leones, Fondeadero.  
Rasa, Isla.

2. ———. Trading under laws of Argentina, by Joaquin Servera; revised 1935 by Henry P. Crawford. 1935. vii+145 p. (Trade promotion series 160; Commercial Laws Division.) [Supersedes Trade promotion series 74.] Paper, 15c.  
L. C. card 35-26681 C 18.27: 160

NOTE.—Includes Bankruptcy and insolvency; by Mariano H. Ramirez.—Law of industrial property; by James L. Brown.

3. *Banks and banking*. Recientes reformas bancarias y monetarias en la Argentina; [por H. Gerald Smith]. [1935.] ii+18 p. (Serie sobre finanzas, industria y comercio no. 84, julio de 1935.) [Del Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, julio 1935.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.14: s 84

BRASIL

4. *Brasil*. East coast of Brazil, Barra Tramandahy to Rio Grande do Sul, including Lagoa dos Patos, compiled from latest information; chart 2458. Natural scale 1:262,977 at lat. 31°. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published April 1908, 6th edition, August 1935. 39.9×33.4 in. 60c. N 6.18: 2458
5. *Education*. Instituto de Educação do Distrito Federal Rio de Janeiro, Brasil; [por Francisco Venancio Filho]. [1935.] ii+18 p. il. (Serie sobre educação no. 52, junho da 1935.) [Do Boletim de la União Pan-Americana, junho 1935.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.18: p 52

6. *Labor legislation*. Legislación social del trabajo en el Brasil; [por Jorge Street]. [1935.] [2]+10 p. (Serie sobre salubridad público y provisión social no. 80, junio de 1935.) [Del Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, junio 1935.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.15: s 80

## CHILE

7. *Chile*. Harbors and anchorages between Golfo de Piñas and Estrecho Nelson, Patagonia, Chile, from British and Chilean surveys to 1879; chart 11. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published March 1883, 11th edition, June 1935. 29×26.4. 30c. N 6.18: 11
- Antrim, Estuario, Isla Wellington, Canal Wide.  
 Chacabuco and Richmond, Caletas, Estuario Hingdove, Canal Wide.  
 Elena, Caleta, Estuario Antrim, Canal Wide.  
 Gage, Estuario, Isla Wellington, Canal Wide.  
 Grappler, Puerto, Promontorio Exmouth, Paso del Indio.  
 Grau Caleta, Peninsula Elliott, Paso del Indio.  
 Mayne, Puerto, Isla Evans, Canal Sarimento.  
 Micaela, Puerto, Isla Saumarez, Paso Grappler.  
 Molyneux, Puerto, Canal Concepcion.  
 Portland, Bahía, Canal Concepcion.  
 Sandy, Caleta, Estuario Antrim, Canal Wide.
8. *Libraries*. Labor cultural de la biblioteca infantil de Chile; [por Margarita Miéres de Rivas]. [1935.] ii+10 p. il. (Serie sobre educación no. 98, junio de 1935.) [Del Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, junio 1935.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.13: s 98

## CUBA

9. *Cuba*. Commerce of Cuba [foreign trade of Cuba for 1933 and 1934] latest reports from Cuban official sources. [1935.] [1]+10 p. (Foreign trade series no. 140, 1935.) Paper, 5c. PA 1.19: 140
- L. C. card 13-35123
10. ———. South coast of Cuba, W. I., Jucaro to Manati River, from United States naval surveys between 1912 and 1916; chart 2615. Natural scale 1: 45,399 at lat. 21°20'. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published May 1918, 9th edition, May 1935, corrected through Notice to mariners 23, June 6, 1935. 42.6×31.1 in. 50c. N 6.18: 2615
11. ———. South coast of Cuba, W. I., Santa Cruz del Sur to Jucaro, from United States Government surveys between 1902 and 1916; with inset, Enlarged plan of Caballones Channel; chart 2614. Natural scale 1: 145,727 at lat. 21°. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published December 1915, 11th edition, July 1935. 42.5×31.2 in. 60c. N 6.18: 2614
12. *Steamboats*. Schedule of steamers carrying mails from United States and United States mails from Habana, Cuba, to foreign countries, also to Territory of Hawaii and to possessions of United States, schedule of air mail routes from United States to and in foreign countries, August 1935. [July 22, 1935.] 13 p. f° [Monthly.] Paper, 5c. single copy, 50c. a yr.; foreign subscription, 75c. P 8.5: 935/8
- L. C. card 25-26231

## EL SALVADOR

13. *San Salvador, El Salvador*, Central America, compiled by John L. Hughes, drawn by Benjamin S. Ober; map 107D-16-S-I. Scale 1: 250,000. Provisional edition. Engineer Reproduction Plant, Army, Fort Humphries, D. C., 1935. 18.8×35.5 in. \$1.00. W 100.6: Sa 5 sa

## HAITI

14. *Haiti* [foreign trade of Haiti for 1934] latest reports from Haitian official sources. [1935.] [1]+11+[1] p. (Foreign trade series no. 138, 1935.) Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 22-26788 PA 1.19: 138

## MEXICO

15. *Indian manuscripts of southern Mexico*; by Herbert J. Spinden. 1935. [1]+429-451 p. il. 3 p. of pl. (Publication 3279.) [From Report, 1933.]  
SI 1.1/a: In 21/9
16. *Mexican bean beetle in Mexico* [with list of literature cited]; by B. J. Landis and C. C. Plummer. 1935. [2]+989-1001 p. il. [From Journal of agricultural research, v. 50, no. 12, June 15, 1935.] Paper, 5c.  
A 1.23/a: B 393/28

## PARAGUAY

17. *Paraguay* [foreign trade of Paraguay for 1933] latest reports from Paraguayan official sources. [1935.] [1]+6 p. (Foreign trade series no. 137, 1935.) Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 20-15503 PA 1.19: 137

## PANAMA AND THE CANAL ZONE

18. *Panama, Bay of. Gulf of Panama, Panama, Central America, Panama Canal to Bahia San Miguel*, including Archipiélago de las Perlas (Perlas Islands), from U. S. naval surveys to 1933, approaches to Panama Canal from U. S. O. & G. S. charts; chart 5584. Natural scale 1: 145,134 at lat. 8°30'. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published April 1933, 2d edition, May 1935, corrected through Notice to mariners 23, June 6, 1935. 32.1×47.4 in. 70c.  
N 6.18: 5584
19. ———. *Gulf of Panama, Panama, Central America, Punta Chame to Cape Mala*, including Bahia Parita, from U. S. Government surveys between 1929 and 1933 [with insets]; chart 5579. Natural scale 1: 145,385 at lat. 7°50'. Washington, Hydrographic Office, June 1935. 48.5×32.5 in. 70c.  
N 6.18: 5579
- Aguadulce, Estero, Entrance to. Mala, Cape, Anchorage.*
20. *Panama Canal record*, v. 28, no. 12; July 15, 1935. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1935]. p. 189-208. [Monthly.]  
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5: 28/12

NOTE.—The yearly subscription rate of the Panama Canal record, issued monthly, is 50c. domestic, and \$1.00 foreign, except in the case of Government departments and bureaus. Members of Congress, representatives of foreign Governments, steamship lines, chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and university and public libraries to whom the Record is distributed free. The word "domestic" refers to the United States, Canada, Canal Zone, Cuba, Guam, Hawaii, Manus, Mexico, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Republic of Panama, Tutuila, and the Virgin Islands. Subscriptions will commence with the issue of the Record in the month in which the subscriptions are received, unless otherwise requested. Remittances should be made payable to Disbursing Clerk, The Panama Canal, but should be forwarded to the Chief of Office, The Panama Canal, Washington, D. C. The name and address to which the Record is to be sent should be plainly written. Postage stamps, foreign money, and defaced or smooth coins will not be accepted.



21. ———. Panama Canal record, August 15, 1934-July 15, 1935; v. 28, [title page] with index. The Panama Canal, Balboa Heights, C. Z., 1935. [2]+2 p.  
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5: 28/t. p. & ind.
22. ———. v. 29, no. 1; August 15, 1935. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1935]. p. 1-16. [Monthly.]  
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5: 29/1

## PUERTO RICO

23. *Puerto Rico*. Acts and resolutions of 3d regular session of 13th Legislature of Puerto Rico [February 11-April 14, 1935], being certified transcripts of originals of all such acts and resolutions and also copies of organic act entitled Act to provide civil government for Puerto Rico and for other purposes, enacted by Congress of United States and approved March 2, 1917, and of other laws applicable to Puerto Rico, enacted by United States Congress. San Juan, P. R., Bureau of Supplies, Printing, and Transportation, 1935. xxxvii+502 p. [English and Spanish. Back title is: Laws of Puerto Rico, 1935.] Sheep, \$2.50; paper, \$1.50.  
L. C. card 5-9688 W 75.12: 13/3
24. ———. Amend joint resolution for relief of Puerto Rico, report to accompany H. J. Res. 129 [to amend joint resolution for relief of Porto Rico, approved December 21, 1928, to permit adjudication with respect to liens of United States arising by virtue of loans under such joint resolution]; submitted by Mr. Tydings. July 29, calendar day August 15, 1935. 5 p. (S. rp. 1333, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.
25. ———. Directing expenditure of \$25,000 for soil survey in Puerto Rico, order made by Secretary of Agriculture under agricultural adjustment act. August 5, 1935. 2 p. (Puerto Rico tax fund order 7.) A 55.18/2: 7
26. ———. Emergency relief in Puerto Rico, report to accompany S. 3140 [to provide that funds allocated to Puerto Rico under emergency relief appropriation act of 1935 may be expended for permanent rehabilitation, and for other purposes]; submitted by Mr. Tydings. May 13, calendar day July 18, 1935. 2 p. (S. rp. 1131, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.
27. ———. Extend provisions of certain law to Puerto Rico, report to accompany H. R. 1392 [to extend provisions of certain laws relating to Federal aid in construction of roads to Puerto Rico]; submitted by Mr. Kocialkowski. July 30, 1935. 6 p. (H. rp. 1678, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.
28. ———. Funds allocable to Puerto Rico under emergency relief appropriation act of 1935, report to accompany H. R. 8621 [to provide that funds allocated to Puerto Rico under emergency relief appropriation act of 1935 may be expended for permanent rehabilitation, and for other purposes]; submitted by Mr. Kocialkowski. July 22, 1935. 3 p. (H. rp. 1555, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.
29. ———. Ratification of joint resolution of Puerto Rican Legislature imposing import duty on coffee imported into Puerto Rico, report to accompany H. J. Res. 290 [to amend act providing for ratification of joint resolution 59 of Legislature of Puerto Rico, approved by governor May 5,

- 1930, imposing import duty on coffee imported into Puerto Rico]; submitted by Mr. King. July 29, calendar day August 6, 1935. 3 p. (S. rp. 1205, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.
30. ———. Relief of Puerto Rico, report to accompany H. J. Res. 257 [to amend joint resolution for relief of Porto Rico, approved December 21, 1928, as amended by 2d deficiency act, fiscal year 1929, so as to permit adjustments on loans made by Puerto Rican Hurricane Relief Commission]; submitted by Mr. Tydings. July 29, calendar day August 15, 1935. 3 p. (S. rp. 1334, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.
31. ———. Temporarily to exempt refunding bonds of Government of Puerto Rico [from limitation of public indebtedness under organic act], report to accompany H. R. 8209; submitted by Mr. Tydings. May 13, calendar day July 18, 1935. 2 p. (S. rp. 1132, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.
32. ———. To enable the people of Puerto Rico to form constitution and State government, hearing, 74th Congress, 1st session, on H. R. 1394, to enable people of Puerto Rico to form constitution and State government and be admitted into the Union on equal footing with the States, May 22-June 18, 1935. 1935. ii+64 p. Paper, 5c. Y 4.T 27/1: P 96
33. *San Jan Harbor, P. R.*, report of Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors on review of reports heretofore submitted on San Juan Harbor, P. R. [April 15, 1935, with report of E. D. Ardery, etc.] [1935.] 39 p. 1 pl. map. (Document 38, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Y 4.R 52: 74/38
34. *Territories*. Distribution of official papers of Territories, report to accompany S. 3447 [to amend act to authorize collection and editing of official papers of Territories now in national archives, as amended]; submitted by Mr. Hayden. July 29, calendar day August 22, 1935. 3 p. (S. rp. 1447, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 35-26731
35. *Insular possessions*: Guam, Philippines, Puerto Rico, Samoa, Virgin Islands, list of publications for sale by superintendent of documents, August 1935. [2]+15+[1] p. (Price list 32, 23d edition.)  
L. C. card 26-26353 GP3.9: 32/23

## WEST INDIES

36. *Beetles*. New West Indian cerambycid beetles; by W. S. Fisher. 1935. p. 189-210. (Proceedings, v. 83; no. 2979.) S 13.6: 2979

## CENTRAL AMERICA

37. *Pilot charts*. Pilot chart of Central American waters, August 1935; chart 3500. Scale 1° long.=0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, July 16, 1935. 23.3×35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24: 935/8  
NOTE.—Contains on reverse: Cyclonic storms.
38. ———. Pilot chart of Central American waters, September 1935; chart 3500. Scale 1° long.=0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, August 14, 1935. 23.3×35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24: 935/9  
NOTE.—Contains on reverse: Cyclonic storms.

39. ———. Pilot chart of Central American waters, October 1935; chart 3500. Scale 1° long.=0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, September 17, 1935. 23.3×35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24: 935/10  
NOTE.—Contains on reverse: Cyclonic storms.

## NORTH AMERICA

40. *Blowflies*. Some North American parasites of blowflies [with list of literature cited]; by R. A. Roberts, 1935. [2]+479-494 p. il. [From Journal of agricultural research, v. 50, no. 6, March 15, 1935.] Paper, 5c.

A 1.23/a: B 623/5

## HISPANIC AMERICA

41. *Ancient civilizations of America*; [by Vincenzo Petruccio.] [1935.] [2]+14 p. il. (History series no. 8.) [From Bulletin of the Pan American Union, March 1935]. Paper, 5c. PA 1.38: e 8

42. *Archeology*. Reseña de los trabajos arqueológicos en las Américas, 1931-33, publicada por la Unión Panamericana en cumplimiento de la resolución de la quinta Conferencia Internacional Americana sobre Protección de los Restos Arqueológicos. [1935.] cover title, i+91 p. il. (Serie sobre arqueología americana no. 6.) [Del Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, diciembre 1934 y enero, abril y mayo 1935.] Paper, 5c. PA 1.20: s 6

CONTENTS.—1, Sudamérica; por S. K. Lothrop.—2, América Media; por Frans Blom.—3, América del Norte; por Carl E. Guthe.

43. ———. Summary of archaeological work in the Americas, 1931-33, published by Pan American Union in compliance with resolution of 5th International Conference of American States for Preservation of Archaeological Remains [1935] cover title, i+77 p. il. (American archeology series no. 7.) [From Bulletin, November and December 1934, February and April, 1935.] Paper, 5c. PA 1.20: e 7

CONTENTS.—1, South America; by S. K. Lothrop.—2, Middle America; by Frans Blom.—3, North America; by Carl E. Guthe.

44. *Castor-oil plant*. Cultivo del ricino; [por Gustavo E. Spangenberg]. [1935.] ii+8+[1] p. il. (Serie sobre agricultura no. 106, julio de 1935.) [Del Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, julio 1935.] Paper, 5c; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.12: s 106

45. *Fig trees*. Cultivo de la higuera en climas húmedos; [por H. P. Gould]. [1935.] ii+46 p. il. (Serie sobre agricultura no. 102, 103, y 104, enero, febrero, y mayo de 1935.) [Del Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, enero, febrero, y mayo, 1935.] Paper, 15c. (3 numbers combined); subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.12: s 102, 103, 104

46. *Marine biology*. Estudos de biologia marinha e pesca nas Americas; [pelo Enrique Beltrán]. [1935.] ii+10 p. il. (Serie sobre finanças, industria, commercio no. 49, junho de 1935.) [Do Boletim da União Pan-Americana, junho 1935.] Paper, 5c; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c.

PA 1.14: p 49

47. *Radio broadcasting.* A radio-difusão educativa na America Latina; [pelo Antonio Alonso]. [1935.] ii+14 p. il. (Serie sobre educação no. 53, julho de 1935.) [Do Boletim da União Pan-Americana, julho 1935.] Paper, 5c; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.13: p 53
48. *Women in industry.* La protección a la mujer obrera en las Américas; [por Mary Anderson]. [1935.] ii+18 p. il. (Serie sobre salubridad pública y previsión social no. 81, septiembre de 1935.) [Del Boletín de la Unión Pan-americana, septiembre 1935.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.15: s 81

## UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH HISPANIC AMERICA

49. *Arbitration.* Inter-American arbitration, treaty between United States and other American republics, signed Washington, January 5, 1929, proclaimed April 16, 1935; and protocol of progressive arbitration, signed Washington, January 5, 1929. 1935. [1]+36 p. (Treaty series 886.) [English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French.] Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 35-26559 S 9.5/2: Ar 1
50. ———. Inter-American conciliation, additional protocol to convention of January 5, 1929, between United States and other American republics; signed Montevideo, December 26, 1933, proclaimed May 8, 1935. 1935. [1]+5 p. (Treaty series 887.) [English and Spanish.] Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 35-26563 S 9.5/2: C 74/2
51. *Official publications.* Exchange of official, scientific, literary, and industrial publications, convention between United States and other American republics; signed city of Mexico, January 27, 1902, signatory Governments informed of ratification by United States, July 16, 1902. 1935. [1]+12 p. (Treaty series 491 A.) [English, French, and Spanish. Not previously issued in printed form.] Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 35-26626 S 9.5/2: P 96/2
52. *Pan Americanism.* Good neighbor policy in the Caribbean, address by Sumner Welles, assistant Secretary of State, before Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, July 2, 1935. 1935. [2]+16 p. narrow 8° (Latin American series 12; [Publication 764].) [Originally issued as mimeographed press release for publication July 3, 1935.] Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 35-26624 S 1.26: 12
53. *Public lands.* International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico, American Section, lease of land acquired to citizens to [of] United States, report to accompany H. R. 7927 [to authorize Secretary of State to lease to citizens of United States any land heretofore or hereafter acquired under any act, Executive order or treaty in connection with projects, in whole or in part constructed or administered by Secretary of State through International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico, American Section]; submitted by Mr. Johnson of Texas. July 23, 1935. 3 p. (H. rp. 1622, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 35-26611



54. *Reciprocal trade*, agreement between United States and Haiti; signed Washington, March 28, 1935, effective June 3, 1935. 1935. [2]+20 p. (Executive agreement series 78; [Publication 751].) [English and French.] Paper, 5c. L. C. card 35-26558 S 9.8: 78
55. *Rio Grande*. Authorizing Rio Grande canalization project, report to accompany S. 3085 [authorizing construction, operation, and maintenance of Rio Grande canalization project by Secretary of State, acting through American section, International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico, and authorizing appropriation for that purpose]; submitted by Mr. Chavez. July 29, calendar day August 14, 1935. 3 p. (S. rp. 1292, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.
56. ———. International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico, American section, Rio Grande canalization, report to accompany H. R. 8692 [authorizing construction, operation, and maintenance of Rio Grande canalization project by Secretary of State, acting through American section, International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico, and authorizing appropriation for that purpose]; submitted by Mr. Johnson of Texas. August 13, 1935. 2 p. (H. rp. 1764, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c. L. C. card 35-26741
57. ———. Providing for study regarding equitable use of waters of Rio Grande below Fort Quitman, Tex., in coöperation with Mexico, conference report to accompany H. R. 6453 [to amend act providing for study regarding equitable use of waters of Rio Grande, and so forth, as amended, so as to obtain information which may be used as basis for negotiation of treaty with Mexico as to use of waters of Rio Grande, Colorado, and Tia Juana rivers]; submitted by Mr. McReynolds. August 7, 1935. 3 p. (H. rp. 1736, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) [H. R. 6453, as here reported, authorizes designation of the American commissioner on the International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico, or other Federal agency, to coöperate with representatives of the Mexican Government in making investigation.] Paper, 5c.
58. *Sanitary convention* between United States and Argentina, signed May 24, 1935, letter from Secretary of State to Key Pittman, chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and text of convention. 1935. [2]+11 p. narrow 8° ([Publication 779.]) [The letter, without text of convention, was issued originally as mimeographed press release for publication August 22, 1935.] Paper, 5c. L. C. card 35-26738 S 9.2: Ar 3

## MISCELLANEOUS AND UNCLASSIFIED

59. *Bulletin (English edition)*. Bulletin of Pan American Union, July 1935; [v. 69, no. 7]. [1935.] iv+511-586 p. il. [Monthly.] L. C. card 8-30967 PA 1.6: e 69/7
60. ———. (*Portuguese edition*). Boletim da União Pan-Americana, julho 1935; [v. 37, no. 7]. [1935.] iv+425-484 p. il. [Monthly.] L. C. card 11-27014 PA 1.6: p 37/7

61. ———. (*Spanish edition*). Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, julio 1935; [v. 69, no. 7]. [1935.] iv+537-612 p. il. [Monthly.] PA 1.6: s 69/7  
L. C. card 12-12555
62. ———. (*English edition*). Bulletin of Pan American Union, August 1935; [v. 69, no. 8]. [1935.] iv+587-654 p. il. [Monthly. This number is entitled 3d Pan American Red Cross Conference, Rio de Janeiro.] PA 1.6: e 69/8  
L. C. card 8-30967
63. ———. (*Portuguese edition*). Boletim da União Pan-Americana, agosto 1935; [v. 37, no. 8]. [1935.] iv+485-552 p. il. [Monthly. This number is entitled Terceira Conferencia Pan-Americana da Cruz Vermelha, Rio de Janeiro.] PA 1.6: p 37/8  
L. C. card 11-27014
64. ———. (*Spanish edition*). Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, agosto 1935; [v. 69, no. 8]. [1935.] iv+613-687 p. il. [Monthly. This number is entitled Tercera Conferencia Panamericana de la Cruz Roja, Rio de Janeiro.] PA 1.6: s 69/8  
L. C. card 12-12555
65. ———. (*English edition*). Bulletin of Pan American Union, September 1935; [v. 69, no. 9]. [1935.] iv+655-730 p. il. [Monthly.] PA 1.6: e 69/9  
L. C. card 8-30967
66. ———. (*Portuguese edition*). Boletim da União Panamericana, setembro 1935; [v. 37, no. 9]. [1935.] iv+553-612 p. il. [Monthly.] PA 1.6: p 37/9  
L. C. card 11-27014
67. ———. (*Spanish edition*). Boletín de la Unión Pan-Americana, septiembre 1935; [v. 69, no. 9]. [1935.] iv+689-764 p. il. [Monthly.] PA 1.6: s 69/9  
L. C. card 12-12555
68. *Christ of the Andes*; [by Charles E. Babcock]. [1935.] [2]+10 p. il. (History series no. 9.) [From Bulletin, May 1935.] Paper, 5c. PA 1.38: e 9
69. *Magellan Strait*. Channels between Magellan Strait and Gulf of Trinidad, lower part; chart 446. Natural scale 1: 291,782 at lat. 52°. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published May 1885, 25th edition, May 1935. 25.4 x 25.8 in. 30c. N 6.18: 446
70. ———. Harbors and anchorages in Magellan Strait, Chile; chart 269. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published January 1884, 10th edition, June 1935. 24.4 x 31.9 in. 30c. N 6.18: 269  
Butler Bay, Crooked Reach, from French survey in 1883.  
Churraca, Port, Sea Reach, from British survey in 1869.  
Guirior Bay, Long Reach, from French survey in 1879.  
Mercy, Port, Sea Reach, from British survey in 1828, with additions in 1865.  
Tamar, Port, Sea Reach, from British survey in 1869.  
Three Passes, Bay of, English Reach, Charles Is., from French survey in 1887.  
Trujillo Bay, Sea Reach, from British sketch in 1869.  
Tuesday Bay, Sea Reach, from British survey in 1869.  
Valentine Harbor, Sea Reach, from British survey in 1828.  
Voltage Bay (Bates Cove), Long Reach, from French survey in 1883.
71. ———. Harbors and anchorages in Magellan Strait, from most recent British surveys; chart 260. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published May 1884, 15th edition, May 1935, corrected through Notice to mariners 23, June 6, 1935. 16.5 x 22.5 in. 20c. N 6.18: 260  
Famine, Port, Famine Reach.  
Gallant, Port, and Fortescue Bay, English Reach.  
San Nicholas Bay, Froward Reach.  
Woods Bay, Froward Reach.

72. *Soto, Hernando de*. Four hundredth anniversary of expedition of Hernando De Soto, conference report to accompany H. J. Res. 265 [pertaining to appropriate celebration of 400th anniversary of expedition of Hernando De Soto]; submitted by Mr. Kaller. August 22, 1935, 2 p. (H. rp. 1886, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.
73. ———. Pan American Exposition, Tampa, Fla., in 1939, report to accompany H. J. Res. 365 [providing for participation by United States in Pan American Exposition to be held in Tampa, Fla., in 1939 in commemoration of 400th anniversary of landing of Hernando De Soto in Tampa Bay, and authorizing the President to invite all foreign countries to said exposition]; submitted by Mr. Caldwell. August 14, 1935. 2 p. (H. rp. 1799, 74th Cong., 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.
74. ———. Participation of United States in Pan American Exposition to be held at Tampa, Fla., report to accompany S. J. Res. 153 [providing for participation by United States in Pan American Exposition to be held in Tampa, Fla., in commemoration of 400th anniversary of landing of Hernando De Soto in Tampa Bay, and to permit articles imported from foreign countries for purpose of exhibition at such exposition to be admitted without payment of tariff]; submitted by Mr. Fletcher. May 13, calendar day July 3, 1935. 1 p. (S. rp. 1014, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.
75. *Texas Centennial Exposition*, report to accompany H. J. Res. 367 [to amend public resolution approved June 28, 1935, providing for participation of United States in Texas Centennial Exposition and celebrations to be held in Texas during 1935 and 1936, and authorizing the President to invite foreign countries and nations to participate therein, and for other purposes, relative to payment of salary and expenses of commissioner general for Texas Centennial Exposition and his staff]; submitted by Mr. Gillette. July 30, 1935. 1 p. (H. rp. 1680, 74th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.

## II

OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, 1935

## COLOMBIA

1. *Colombia* [foreign trade of Colombia for 1934] latest reports from Colombian official sources. [1935.] 8 p. (Foreign trade series no. 139, 1935.) Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 23-6434 PA 1.19: 139

## COSTA RICA

2. *Costa Rica*. Cities & towns, Costa Rica, Central America, compiled and drawn by Benjamin S. Ober; map 107C-16-S-VI. Provisional edition. Engineer Reproduction Plant, Army, Fort Humphreys, D. C., 1935. 18.8×36 in. \$1.25. W 100.6: C 82  
Alajuela, Alajuela Province.  
Atenas, Alajuela Prov.  
Cartago, Cartago Province.  
Chomes, Puntarenas Province.  
Curridabat, San Jose Province.  
Esparita, Puntarenas Province.

Heredia, Heredia Province.  
 Liberia, Guanacaste Province.  
 Limon, Puerto, Limon Province.  
 Nicoya, Guanacaste Province.  
 Orotina, Alajuela Province.  
 Paraiso, Cartago Province.  
 Puntarenas, Puntarenas Province.  
 San Jose, San Jose Province.  
 Sardinal, Guanacaste Province.  
 Siquirres, Limon Province.  
 Turrialba, Cartago Province.

## CUBA

3. *Batabano, Cuba*-Media Luna Cay, Cuba; aviation chart V-266. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.5 in., 10 stat. m.=1.3 in., natural scale 1:500,000 at lat. 23°45'. Washington, Hydrographic Office, November 1927, corrected through Notice to aviators 19, October 1, 1935. 47×10 in. [Provisional chart. Contains text and illustrations on reverse.] 40c. N 6.27: V-266/corr. 935
4. *Cuba*. Preparing shipments to Cuba, documentation and consular and customs requirements; by Ralph M. Sams. 1935. vi+24 p.+[3] folded leaves. (Trade promotion series 163; Latin American Section, Foreign Tariffs Division.) Paper, 10c. C 18.27: 163

## GUATEMALA

5. *Guatemala City, Guatemala-Mexico*, Central America, compiled by R. E. Kemp, drawn by Benjamin S. Ober; map 107D-15-N-VI. Scale 1: 250,000. Provisional edition. Engineer Reproduction Plant, Army, Fort Humphreys, D. C., 1935. 18.8×39.5 in. \$1.25. W 100.6: G 93
6. *Huehuetenango, Guatemala-Mexico*, Central America, compiled by R. E. Kemp, drawn by J. K. Fry; map 107D-15-N-III. Scale 1: 250,000. Provisional edition. Engineer Reproduction Plant, Army, Fort Humphreys, D. C., 1935. 18.8×39.4 in. \$1.25. W 100.6: H 87
7. *La Libertad, Guatemala-Mexico*, Central America, compiled by R. E. Kemp, drawn by Benjamin S. Ober; map 107E-15-S-VI. Scale 1: 250,000. Provisional edition. Engineer Reproduction Plant, Army, Fort Humphreys, D. C., 1935. 18.8×35 in. \$1.25. W 100.6: L 15

## HONDURAS

8. *Honduras*. Air-minded Honduras; by Frans Blom. 1935. [2]+6 p. il. [From Bulletin of the Pan American Union, September 1935.] Paper, 5c. PA 1.6/a: H 755
9. *Teguigalpa, Honduras*, Central America, compiled by John L. Hughes; map 107D-16-N-V. Scale 1: 250,000. Provisional edition. Engineer Reproduction Plant, Army, Fort Humphreys, D. C., 1935. 18.8×24.3 in. \$1.25. W 100.6: T 23

## MEXICO

10. *Balancan, Mexico*. Balancan, Guatemala-Mexico, Central America, compiled by J. L. Hughes, drawn by H. L. Flemer; map 107E-15-S-III. Scale 1: 250,000. Provisional edition. Engineer Reproduction Plant, Army, Fort Humphreys, D. C., 1935. 18.8×34.8 in. \$1.25. W 100.6: B 18



11. *Payo Obispo, Mexico*. Payo Obispo, Br. Honduras-Mexico, Central America, compiled by A. A. Stanley, drawn by H. L. Flemer; map 107E-16-N-IV. Scale 1: 250,000. Provisional edition. Engineer Reproduction Plant, Army, Fort Humphreys, D. C., 1935. 18.8×38.8 in. \$1.25. W 100.6: P 29

## NICARAGUA

12. *Nicaragua*. Cities & towns, Nicaragua, north, Central America, compiled and drawn by A. A. Stanley; map 107C-16-N-V. Provisional edition. Engineer Reproduction Plant, Army, Fort Humphreys, D. C., 1935. 18.9×35.8 in. \$1.25. W 100.6: N 51/2

Chichigalpa, Chinandega Department.  
 Chinandega, Chinandega Department.  
 Condega, Esteli Dept.  
 Corinto, Chinandega Dept.  
 Dario, Matagalpa Dept.  
 El Viejo, Chinandega Dept.  
 Esteli, Esteli Department.  
 Jalapa, Nueva Segovia Dept.  
 Jinotega, Esteli Dept.  
 La Cruz, Rio Grande Dept.  
 Leon, Leon Department.  
 Matagalpa, Matagalpa Dept.  
 Ocotal, Nueva Segovia Dept.  
 Prinzapolka, Bluefields Dept.  
 Puerto Cabezas (Bragman Bluff), Bluefields Department.  
 Rio Grande, Managua Department.  
 San Francisco del Carnicero, Managua Dept.  
 San Rafael del Norte, Jinotega Dept.  
 Sonto Tomas, Chontales Dept.  
 Sebaco, Matagalpa Dept.  
 Somotillo, Chinandega Dept.  
 Somoto, Nueva Segovia Dept.  
 Tepaneca, Nueva Segovia Dept.  
 Villa Nueva, Chinandega Dept.

13. ———. Cities & towns, Nicaragua, south, Central America, compiled and drawn by A. A. Stanley; map 107C-16-S-II. Provisional edition. Engineer Reproduction Plant, Army, Fort Humphreys, D. C., 1935. 18.8×35.7 in. \$1.25. W 100.6: N 51

Acoyapa, Chontales Dept.  
 Bluefields, Bluefields Dept.  
 Buenos Aires, Rivas Department.  
 Diriomo, Granada Department.  
 Granada, Granada Department.  
 Jinotepe, Carazo Dept.  
 Juigalpa, Chontales Dept.  
 Managua, Managua Department.  
 Masaya, Masaya Department.  
 Nagarote, Leon Department.  
 Nandaime, Granada Dept.  
 Nindirí, Masaya Department.  
 Pueblo Nuevo, Rivas Department.  
 Rama, Siquia Dept.  
 Rivas, Rivas Department.  
 San Carlos, Chontales Dept.  
 San Jorge, Rivas Department.  
 San Juan del Norte (Greytown), S. Juan del Norte Dept.  
 San Juan del Sur, Rivas Department.  
 Tipitapa, Managua Dept.

## PANAMA CANAL

14. *Panama Canal record*, v. 29, no. 3; October 15, 1935. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1935]. p. 33-48. [Monthly.] L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5: 29/3

NOTE.—The yearly subscription rate of the Panama Canal record, issued monthly, is 50c. domestic, and \$1.00 foreign, except in the case of Government departments and bureaus. Members of Congress, representatives of foreign Governments, steamship lines, chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and university and public libraries to whom the Record is distributed free. The word "domestic" refers to the United States, Canada, Canal Zone, Cuba, Guam, Hawaii, Manua, Mexico, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Republic of Panama, Tutuila, and the Virgin Islands. Subscriptions will commence with the issue of the Record in the month in which the subscriptions are received, unless otherwise requested. Remittances should be made payable to Disbursing Clerk, The Panama Canal, but should be forwarded to the Chief of Office, The Panama Canal, Washington, D. O. The name and address to which the Record is to be sent should be plainly written. Postage stamps, foreign money, and defaced or smooth coins will not be accepted.

15. ———. v. 29, no. 4; November 15, 1935. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1935].  
p. 49-64. [Monthly.]  
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5: 29/4
16. ———. v. 29, no. 5; December 15, 1935. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1935].  
p. 65-80. [Monthly.]  
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5: 29/5
17. *Transportation*, railroad and shipping problems, postal service, telegraphs, telephones, and Panama Canal, list of publications for sale by superintendent of documents. October 1935. [2]+40+[1] p. (Price list 25, 25th edition.)  
L. C. card 26-26255 GP 3.9: 25/25

#### PUERTO RICO

18. *Puerto Rico*. Acts and resolutions of 2d special session of 13th Legislature of Puerto Rico, 1935, being certified transcripts of originals of all such acts and resolutions, June 25-July 8, 1935. San Juan, P. R., Bureau of Supplies, Printing, and Transportation, 1935. xxxi+658 p. [English and Spanish. Back title is: Laws of Puerto Rico, special session, 1935.] Sheep, \$3.00; paper \$2.00.  
L. C. card 5-9688 W 75.12: 13/ap. 2
19. *Sugar*, Allotment of quota for Puerto Rico order made by Secretary of Agriculture under agricultural adjustment act. September 23, 1935. 3 p. (Puerto Rico sugar order 2 supplement 1.) A 55.18: 2/supp.1
20. *Sugarcane*. Puerto Rico administrative ruling no. 2: Puerto Rico sugarcane production adjustment contract, determination and allotment of Puerto Rico's local consumption of sugar. May 15, 1935. 3 p. 4° (Sugar 302 A.) [Processed.] A 55.18/3: Su 3/no.2
21. ———. Puerto Rico sugarcane administrative rulings nos. 3 and 4. September 27, 1935. 2 p. (Sugar 302 B.) A 55.18/3: Su 3/no.3, 4

#### URUGUAY

22. *Montevideo Bay*. Bahia de Montevideo and approaches, Uruguay, Isla de Flores to Pta. del Cerro, from British surveys between 1849 and 1883 and United States naval surveys in 1874 and 1892, topography from Uruguayan Govt. surveys to 1924; with inset Approach to Cibil Dock, Bahia de Montevideo, from British survey in 1892; chart 672. Scale naut. m.=2.6 in, natural scale 1: 28,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published May 1875, 33d edition, August 1935. 27.9×47.6 in. 60c. N 6.18: 672

## CENTRAL AMERICA

23. *Belize, British Honduras*. Belize, Guatemala-Br. Honduras-Mexico, Central America, compiled by J. L. Hughes, drawn by J. K. Fry; map 107E-16-S-I. Scale 1: 250,000. Provisional edition. Engineer Reproduction Plant, Army, Fort Humphreys, D. C., 1935. 18.8×39 in. \$1.25. W 100.6: B 41
24. *Central America*. West coast of Central America, Burica Point to Morro Puercos, compiled from latest information; chart 1018. Natural scale 1: 290,690 at lat. 7°45'. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published March 1888, 36th edition, November 1935. 26×40.9 in. 50c. N 6.18: 1018
25. *Mayas*. Commerce, trade, and monetary units of the Maya [with bibliography]; by Frans Blom. 1935. [1]+423-440 p. il. (Publication 3326.) [From Report, 1934.] SI 1.1/a: 451
26. *Pilot charts*. Pilot chart of Central American waters, November 1935; chart 3500. Scale 1° long.=0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, October 1935. 23.3×35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24: 935/11  
NOTE.—Contains on reverse: Northers of Mexican and Central American waters; by Willis Edwin Hurd.
27. ———. Pilot chart of Central American waters, December 1935; chart 3500. Scale 1° long.=0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, November 14, 1935. 23.3×35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24: 935/12  
NOTE.—Contains on reverse: Fog at sea; by Willis Edwin Hurd.
28. ———. Pilot chart of Central American waters, January 1936; chart 3500. Scale 1° long.=0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, December 17, 1935. 23.3×35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24: 936/1

## WEST INDIES

29. *Media Luna Cay, Cuba*-Cape Haitien, Haiti; aviation chart V-264. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.5 in., 10 stat. m.=1.3 in., natural scale 1: 500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published November 1927, 2d edition, corrected through Notice to aviators 19, October 1, 1935. 49.2×10 in. [Provisional chart. Contains text and illustrations on reverse.] 40c. N 6.27: Y-264/2/corr.935

## NORTH AMERICA

30. *Latin America*. Seeing Latin republics of North America, Cuba, Haiti, Panama, Mexico, Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic; by William A. Reid. [3rd edition.] [J. D. Milans' Sons, Inc., Washington, D. C.] 1935. 182+[1] p. il. [A previous edition was designated as Sightseeing series no. 2, but series designation is omitted from this edition.] Paper, 25c. PA 1.23: 2/3  
L. C. card 35-26762

## SOUTH AMERICA

31. *Indian cultures of northeastern South America*; by Herbert W. Krieger. 1935. [1]+401-421 p. il. 12 p. of pl. (Publication 3325.) [From Report, 1934.] SI 1.1/a: In 21/10



32. *South America*. Ports and harbors of South America, brief survey of aspects, facilities, prospects; by William A. Reid. [7th edition.] [Sun Printing Office, Baltimore, Md.] 1934. 196+[1] p. il. 2 p. of maps. [The previous edition was designated as Ports and harbors series no. 1, but series designation is omitted from this edition.] Paper, 25c.

L. C. card 34-26740

PA 1.25: 1/3

#### HISPANIC AMERICA

33. *Catalogue* of exhibition in Division of Maps, comprising some 200 Hispanic American maps, atlases, geographies, globes, and portraits of historical, diplomatic, and cartographic interest, ranging through 4 centuries, upon occasion of general assembly of Pan American Institute of Geography and History, Washington, D. C., October 14-19, 1935; by Lawrence Martin, Edith Fitton, and Clarence G. Johnson. 1935. 20 p. 12° [Processed, with printed cover and title page.]

L. C. card 35-20266

LC 5.2: H 62

34. *Melanerians* and Australians and peopling of America [with bibliographic notes and list of literature cited]; by Ales Hrdlicka. Washington, Smithsonian Institution, October 18, 1935. [2]+58 p. (Publication 3341; Smithsonian miscellaneous collections, v. 94, no. 11.) Paper, 25c.

L. C. card 35-26839

SI 1.7: 94/11

#### UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH HISPANIC AMERICA

35. *Arbitration*. General treaty of inter-American arbitration, signed by plenipotentiaries of 20 American republics at International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, Washington, January 5, 1929 [with Senate resolution of ratification]. [1935.] 11 p. ([Confidential]; Senate executive F, 73d Cong. 2d sess.

Y 1.73/2: F

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L. C. card 35-26784

S 3.34/2: R 86/4



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